

**The Society sends warmest greetings to the Chinese people on the 20th Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and congratulations on their great achievements in the building of a socialist society.**



October 4: Celebration Evening  
14: Chinese Film  
23: 20th Anniversary Lecture  
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## THE LONG MARCH OF MAN

TWENTY YEARS are almost a generation: in China today probably 250 million children and young people of twenty-one or less have no direct knowledge of what their country was like before 1949. Yet for those of us who remember so vividly life in war-time China under the rule of Chiang Kai-Shek, a generation ago seems like yesterday. Those were the days when in one year (1943) a million people starved to death in two quite separate famines, one in Central and one in South China, and when peasant boys in their hundreds of thousands were seized as conscripts and marched for hundreds of miles to their death in the north-west. I myself shall never forget the poverty of the Chinese people that I saw during those years; and the utter misery of the young soldiers blinded by trachoma and dying of dysentery and many other diseases that the Army Medical Corps, to which I was an Adviser, had not the means to overcome.

On October the First, 1949, Mao Tse-tung, standing above the Gate of Heavenly Peace in Peking and announcing that 'the Chinese people have stood up', proclaimed the People's Republic of China. The achievements of China in these twenty years are best measured from that base-line of 1949. What did Mao's words really signify?

Nothing more nor less than the final overthrow of an out-of-date social and political system which had become very

inefficient, extremely corrupt, and often positively inhuman. Traditional Chinese society, already in decline by the beginning of the 19th century, had been shaken by the impact of aggressive Western capitalism and changed by it

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By Dr Joseph Needham  
Chairman of the Society

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into what has been called a semi-feudal, semi-colonial system. In the China of Chiang Kai-shek it was the worst features of traditional society that tended to survive, and it was on to them that his party grafted what was in essence a fascist system, with the single saving grace of relative inefficiency. Despite its strong American backing, this system, as I know directly from personal experience, had no popular support; and when the peasants and industrial workers, whom Mao had found the way to organise in the Chinese Red Army, first defended themselves against its attacks, and then moved to overthrow it completely, it collapsed.

Thus the way was cleared for the building of a new society, but the form that this would take was decided only in broad outline. In March, 1949, Mao warned that:

'With victory, the people will be grateful to us, and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy can-

not conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. . . . We must guard against such a situation. To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. . . . The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous.'

With this historical perspective of Mao's, so characteristically Chinese, one can better appraise what has been accomplished in the twenty years of the People's Republic and, perhaps even more important at the present time, understand the reasons for changes of policies and vicissitudes of personalities that at times we may find perplexing.

The achievements of the years 1949-1958 were staggering in their immensity. We may cite only in bare outline some of the most outstanding developments:

1. internal peace and security such as had not been seen for hundreds of years, if ever, before;

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2. the ending of landlord and money-lender oppression of the peasants, who took the land for themselves, and then by gradual stages formed mutual-aid teams, co-operatives, and finally in 1958 the people's communes;
3. great public works, particularly in river conservancy, flood prevention and irrigation, afforestation, and the construction for the first time of a rail and road network throughout the entire country;
4. Planned development of mineral resources and the building up for the first time, with Soviet help, of a modern industrial system scientifically planned in relation to the country's natural resources;
5. the ending of inflation, and the establishment of perhaps the most stable currency in the world, the purchasing power of which has gone up rather than down;
6. the virtual elimination of illiteracy, except among the older generation;
7. a great expansion of free education, particularly higher education, with a strong scientific and technical bias;
8. lavish support for scientific and technological research, especially in the fields of physics, geology, agriculture, biochemistry and the medical sciences;
9. mass sanitation and health campaigns which by relatively simple methods have dramatically reduced infant mortality and the general death-rate, and improved the national health;
10. fundamental social reforms, such as the Marriage Law (abolishing feudal marriage, and providing equal status for women), equal pay for equal work; democratic local government by neighbourhood committees, provision of more adequate pensions and health insurance, and the like.

### **Freedom for masses**

Thus in a single decade the mass of the people attained, broadly speaking, freedom from want, and also freedom from worry about their future. All this was achieved by the people's acceptance of Communist Party leadership. There was, of course, inevitably a small minority of the discontented, those whose vested interests had been done away with, but as time went on the acceptance became ever more willing, for Chairman Mao was to the vast majority a veritable Moses who had brought them out of the Egyptian

bondage of the Kuomintang into a land not only promised but palpably real.

But for all this a price had, it seemed, to be paid; the development, in a country that had been for twenty centuries the home of bureaucratic élites, of a huge new Party bureaucracy. Mao Tse-tung might perhaps have acquiesced in this if he had not gradually come to the conclusion that in the Soviet Union (where many of the achievements of the new China had been pioneered thirty years earlier in the making of the first socialist country) things had gone badly wrong. Here bureaucratic political, social, and economic organisation had led to the separation of the Party from the people, and to the growth of a new privileged class. Despite the fact that the economic organisation of the country was nominally socialist, people were becoming less and less socialist in spirit.

### **Danger signals**

Consumer demands not only grew, but were artificially stimulated, according to a pattern that seemed to follow the American one: more washing machines, more television sets, more private cars, more large flats for small families; less pioneering community service, less devotion to duty, less attachment to the pleasures of life that can be enjoyed without expensive equipment. True, 'abundance' on the American pattern—or even that of the 'Welfare State'—was a long way from being achieved in the Soviet Union (and still further away in China) but Mao saw grave danger-signals of 'hire-purchase debauchery' and the selfish passion for the acquisition of things in time to come. It was not that the standard of life should not rise, after all, that had always been one of the greatest aims of the socialist movement everywhere, but new possessing classes must not be created in the process. Good things should be at everyone's disposal, not only for the few.

Moreover, this turn away from the ethos of socialism towards that of capitalism was accompanied by a fundamental change in Soviet world policy, epitomised in Walter Lippmann's words (of President Kennedy):

'He achieved one thing brilliantly, which is changing the course of events, and that was to convince the Soviet Union that it must perforce, and that it comfortably and honourably can, live within a balance of power that is decided in our favour.'

Such a policy of acquiescence in

world domination, initiated by Khrushchev and developed by his successors Brezhnev and Kosygin, logically involved, Mao felt, the withdrawal of support from national liberation movements throughout the world, and, indeed, from any government that might dare to stand up to the United States, whenever the US made an issue of the matter, as in the case of the Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962. This was not a policy that Mao Tse-tung and those who saw things as he did were prepared to accept. Unlike the Russians, they had direct experience of the way American imperialism worked, in China (including Taiwan), and in her near neighbours Korea and Vietnam. Khrushchev, however, tried to oblige the Chinese leaders to follow his line ('We have means to bring them to their knees'—Bucharest, June 1960) and then, finding that he could not do so, withdrew in the following month all the Soviet engineers and technicians working in China, thus breaking military, technical and economic contracts wholesale.

This betrayal was a great shock to the Chinese, the more so as it came in the middle of a three-year period of natural disasters—flood and drought—worse than any in China for a hundred years. The combined effect on the economy of this and of the Soviet withdrawal of technical assistance was very severe. Agricultural and industrial production dropped sharply, strict rationing of food and other essentials was introduced, and some degree of under-nourishment supervened. But thanks to the organisation of the communes, and the fact that the Government brought millions of tons of wheat (mainly from Canada and Australia) to help maintain the ration, disaster was averted—a disaster that in the old days might have been expected to cause ten million or more deaths from famine. China learned many lessons in this period, particularly the vital necessity of self-reliance, so that by the ingenuity of many of her technical workers, she ended up stronger than before.

### **Other lessons**

Politically there were other lessons too. During the 'hard years' (1959-61), and the years of recovery (1962-63), the danger of a retrogression from socialism and socialist ideas became clearer, as incipient capitalist tendencies showed themselves both in towns and countryside. It was clear that socialist institutions alone could not guarantee socialism. To counter these trends, a socialist education movement

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# A socialist wage structure

IN a recent letter to SACU, Professor Hyman Levy, a member of the Society, asked for information on the wages system as it now operates in China. His letter reads, in part:

'I want to know how the wage-system, or its equivalent, works in China. I want to know what is the variation in range of levels of life—and I don't want a general but precise answer. I want to know because the operation of such 'incentives' in the Soviet Union has resulted in a select bureaucracy which considers it is the representative of the proletariat, and which operates 'democratic centralism' as if it were all-knowing, all-wise and all-powerful.

'It is obvious to me that the revolution in the Soviet Union cannot possibly be a model for another part of society which has had a totally different past history. Developing that

theme explains to me where the USSR has gone wrong over China and Czechoslovakia, etc.

'But what I want to pursue is whether the coming into existence of a "socialist" bureaucracy is an inevitable step in a passage towards socialism, and whether it is associated with the persistence of "economic incentives" after the first stage of the revolution.

'The cry of Chinese youth for a "cultural revolution" could be seen as a recognition of the dangers inherent in a self-established bureaucracy and its pre-revolutionary values. It is for this reason that I am seeking to discover the structure of the "wage system" in China, and how it has changed since the revolution.'

ROLAND BERGER answers: Extremely important though the question of wage differentials is, it derives, I

think, from something deeper, as do other questions in the letter—bureaucracy, elitism, privilege; the questions of who holds political power in a socialist country.

The first reference to wage differentials in the New China known to me appears in Mao Tse-tung's comparison of the standards of living of workers and peasants in 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People' (February, 1957) which he concludes with the comment:

'The wages of a small number of workers and some government personnel are a bit too high and the peasants have reason to be dissatisfied with this.'

This was written towards the end of a phase during which, in order to get the economy going, the organisation of China's industry, factory management,

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## LONG MARCH

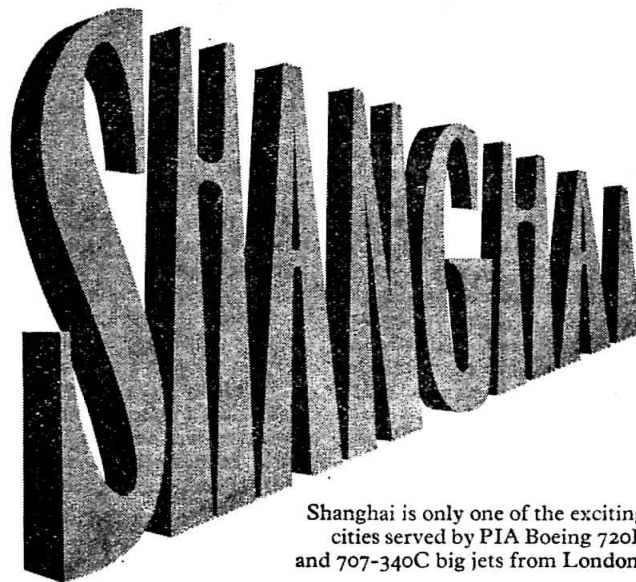
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was launched in the countryside in 1963. But as Mao said in February 1967 (quoted in Lin Piao's 'Report to the Ninth Party Congress'):

'In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way, and from below.'

Here 'our dark aspect' is a memorable phrase; he meant, of course, the almost unconscious tendency of any group of people in authority to do better for themselves than the majority, to appropriate goods in short supply, to order people about, and to commit all the bureaucratic sins. But there was a way out. The way was found in the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution', a tremendous upheaval out of which a new China is again emerging. It is the people of this new China, striving, in battle with themselves, towards the vision of the selfless socialist ideal, who are now celebrating the Twentieth Anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic, yet another milestone on the Long March of man.

Joseph Needham



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## Wage structure

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wages policy and so forth had been largely copied from the Soviet model, and economic planning and organisation was to some extent influenced by it. In the same article Mao Tse-tung refers to China's lack of experience on economic questions and draws attention to 'the contradiction between the objective laws of economic development of a socialist country and our subjective understanding of them.'

The Great Leap Forward which opened a year later (spring, 1958) swept away many, but by no means all, of the practices and policies which had been borrowed from the Soviet Union and rather mechanically applied in China. The changes would, no doubt, have been more sweeping had not the 'difficult years' supervened, giving an opportunity to the capitalist roaders, with their ideas of 'elitism', 'authority' and the slowing down of socialist advance to assert their influence in parts of the Party apparatus, State organs and the economy.

With the recovery of 1962 and the opening of the Socialist Education campaign in 1963, the question of wage differentials came under scrutiny. During my visit in 1963 many Chinese friends were criticising the excessively high salaries and privileges enjoyed by the few, which they saw as endangering the principles on which a socialist society should function.

By mid-1964 Mao Tse-tung had formulated a set of fifteen 'theories and policies summing up the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and studying the positive and negative experience of other countries, mainly of the Soviet Union.' These include one (number 11) which states that:

'The system of high salaries for a small number of people should never be applied. The gap between the incomes of the working personnel of the Party, the government, the enter-

prises and the people's communes, on the one hand, and the incomes of the mass of the people on the other, should be rationally and gradually narrowed and not widened. All working personnel must be prevented from abusing their power and enjoying special privileges.' ('On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World', July 14, 1964.)

In China at this time this policy was put into effect mainly by holding down wages at the top and raising those at the lower levels.

The experience of the Socialist Education Campaign and a growing realisation of the deep-seated character of the dangers of revisionism must have convinced Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues that there was a need for something much more sweeping and revolutionary to arouse the masses if the Chinese people, and especially the working class was, to use Marx's phrase 'succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.'

The changes wrought by the Cultural Revolution are manifold. By 'seizing power', the workers have replaced the former bureaucracies by organs of political power based on direct and extensive democracy on the lines of the Paris Commune.

### New motivations

One major effect has been an enormous enhancement of the political consciousness and sense of social responsibility of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. This above all makes it possible to rely less on material incentives (they are obviously not at this stage totally discarded) and more on ideological and social motivations. The Soviet leaders and their propagandists have condemned these changes as 'leftist' and 'egalitarian':

'We could not fail to feel alarmed when, with every step they took, the leaders of the People's Republic of China began to pour abuse on the Leninist principle of material incentive, abandoning the principle of remunerating labour and went over to equalitarian distribution in People's Communes.'

(Soviet Government statement, September 2, 1963.)

This briefly has been the development of China's policy concerning wages differentials. Now for some of the facts.

China's general wage structure is laid down nationally in a system of grades for types of work performed, each

grade having its minimum and maximum. There are slight variations from region to region. Rates in Shanghai, for example, are marginally higher, taking account of the higher cost of living there. There are some 10-12 grades, covering the various types of manual work. This wage structure does not, of course, apply on the people's communes.

### Gap is narrowing

In the late fifties and early sixties it was not uncommon to find managers, technicians, factory Party secretaries and others with salaries of 300 yuan a month or more. A Chinese friend spoke to me in 1964 of leading Peking Opera stars who had in previous years received royalties as high as 3,000 yuan a month.

By 1966 the gap had already been reduced. Barrie Richman, professor of management and international business, University of California, visited 38 Chinese factories in the Spring of 1966 as the Cultural Revolution was unfolding. In his book 'Industrial Society in Communist China' (1969) he includes tables showing the range of wages at each of the factories. From these he draws the conclusion:

'The Chinese Communist regime fully realises that one sure way to create class distinctions and privileged elites is to allow big income differentials in society. For ideological reasons, income differentials in Communist Chinese industry, and in other sectors as well, are probably significantly smaller than in any other country in the world.

'At a majority of the enterprises surveyed, the ratio between the top pay and average enterprise pay was less than 2.5 to 1; the highest ratio — and this was a very unusual case — was about 4 to 1. The highest-paid employee in my entire sample of 38 firms received only seven times more than the lowest-paid employee in this sample — 210 yuan as against 30 yuan. This is an amazingly small differential compared with what would probably be found in a roughly similar sample of firms in virtually any other country.' (pp 804/805.)

This survey was made before the sweeping and radical changes intro-

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# A man of many hats

**WITHIN THE FOUR SEAS, The Dialogue of East and West:** by Joseph Needham. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1969. 40s.

IN THIS collection of 22 of Joseph Needham's writings—including essays, reviews, addresses—we see him in many aspects: scientist, historian, translator, reviewer, sinologist, philosopher, and, perhaps to the surprise of some, poet. He describes himself in one poem as:

Half scientist, half humanist,  
Han-hsueh-chia,  
The spirit of Galileo in the blood  
But also a learner in Ssuma  
Chhien's school.

Dr Needham's immense learning is well known, but even a student of his *History of Science and Civilisation in China* cannot fail to be impressed by

the encyclopaedic knowledge in many fields of philosophy and science shown in these essays. This is evident in the wide sweep with which he covers 4,000 years of human history and in the details which abound in his coverage: observations by early Portuguese travellers in China, points of Byzantine autocratic law, Buddhist customs.

His great store of knowledge is used to illuminate and give body to his themes, whether writing on capitalism as it affects East and West (p 166); on population problems; or reviewing books on psychology, Vietnam, ancient religion, modern technology. All this is bound together by a central theme—namely the importance of China, her culture, civilisation and customs, and the lessons that she can teach the world.

Perhaps most important for students of modern China is the essay 'The Past in China's Present' (first published in the *Centennial Review*, 4, 1960). Here Dr Needham examines 'current changes against the social and philosophical background of many centuries'. He discusses China's social structure through the ages: the 'bureaucratic feudalism' of the Empire administered by scholar gentry; the inhibition of the development of capitalism by the mandarin system; the civil as opposed to the military ethos in China; the moral emphasis, deeply Confucian, which he sees in the Chinese society today.

He reminds us of the very old Chinese tradition of great public works and nationalised production. He explains why Kuomintang capitalism was bound to fail to win support and how all its leaders' efforts to boost the feudal virtues and to popularise forms of social asceticism foundered, because the set-up was un-Chinese; and he points out how the Communists, in

## Wage structure

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duced by the Cultural Revolution. Some idea of the effect of these on the wages gap may be gathered from a comparison between the wage-range found by Richman and that in factories I visited in Autumn, 1968 and Spring, 1969.

Whereas in 26 of the 38 factories in Richman's survey top monthly wages exceeded 115 yuan a month (over 140 in 16 of them) the highest being 210 yuan, in the many factories I visited I found no salary higher than 108. The table below gives details of four of the factories I visited, illustrating what I believe to be now the general picture.

Richmond had visited the Peking Coking and Chemical Factory in spring, 1966. The comparison between the wage-range he found and that at the time of my visit in Spring, 1969, are interesting. Richman's figures are:

Average	Highest	Lowest
61	150	34

It is necessary to mention that in the factories I visited the great majority

of the workers were receiving wages just below or just above the average. The numbers at the lowest and highest levels were very small.

While these figures of the narrowing wage gap are very important, they tell only part of the 'material incentive' story. In all the factories I have visited during my four visits since the Cultural Revolution began, not only has the spread of wages been reduced but other measures have been taken by the workers themselves, through their revolutionary committees, to get rid of the cash nexus and to apply standards more consistent with socialist principles and the notion of 'Serve the People'.

## No piece rates

Thus I found that all piece rates had been abolished and individual bonuses discarded. The application of the national wage policy within the grading structure is in the hands of the workers and freely discussed on the shop floor, starting with a consideration of political and social principles.

In these changes in wage differentials we see only one, albeit a very import-

ant one, of the steps China is taking to prevent the restoration of privilege and hence, through the back door, of capitalistic forms. The narrowing of the wage gap, the participation of cadres in physical labour, the supervision of education by workers' teams are all expressions of one fundamental principle—the working class must exercise leadership in everything.

Thus we see in China the application of the dictatorship of the proletariat not as an abstract theory or a meaningless phrase but in the form of practical and direct participation of the working class in ever-widening areas of state affairs, reminding one of Lenin's appeal 'To the Population' a few days after the October Revolution:

'Comrade Workers! Remember that you yourselves now administer the state. Nobody will help you if you yourselves do not unite and take all the affairs of state in your hands.'

This is only a partial answer to Professor Levy's interesting questions. Perhaps *SACU News* will offer further space so that other contributors may comment on other important issues raised by him and only inadequately covered in this note.

Table: WAGES IN 4 CHINESE FACTORIES

Factory	When Visited	No. of Workers	Wages		
			Average	Highest	Lowest
People's Machinery Factory, Peking	May, 1969	2,700 (35% women)	50	108	34
Cotton Mill No. 2, Peking	November, 1968	5,000 (70% women)	70	105	45
Printing and Dyeing Works, Peking	November, 1968	2,000 (40% women)	51	108	30
Peking Coking and Chemical Factory	Spring, 1969	2,500 (25% women)	57	105	40

pects of Chinese civilisation which seem to have contributed directly to the successful adoption of socialism: the 'instinctive democracy', the lack of special forms of address between 'superior and inferior', the morality, asceticism and justice of Confucianism which 'can be felt very much among the communists of today and in their social attitudes' (p 63).

He mentions the traditional absence of religious persecution, the lack of superstition, and the emphasis on persuasion which is typified in innumerable discussion-meetings held today.

'The rest of the world needs to learn, with all humility', says Dr Needham in concluding this essay, 'not only from contemporary China but from the China of all time, for in China's wisdom and experience there are medicines for many diseases of the spirit and indispensable elements of the future philosophy of humanity' (p 88).

thought and spiritual stimulus, and for the insight we are allowed into the author's private reflections and personal visions: as, for instance, in the

in affirmation lived, No longer in denial, of human things.

**B C J G K**

## Paintings: last few days

UNTIL September 21, the British Museum is offering the opportunity of seeing an excellent selection of Chinese paintings dating from the 10th century to the present day.

As an introduction, a pair of large photographic reproductions indicate the form and content typical in the work of the two great landscape painters of the 10th century, Tung Yuan, the southerner, and Fan K'uan, the northerner, both of whom were revered as masters by all later artists. In the scrolls which follow one may trace the development of all varieties of Chinese painting, including landscape, calligraphy, flower, animal, por-

trait and genre painting up to the 20th century.

Chinese art is all too unfamiliar to us, and I suspect that a run-down of the painters represented in the exhibition would be as meaningless to most readers as a Cantonese shopping list. Yet an actual tour is surprisingly revealing. Brushwork — dainty and bold, the uses of perspective to accord with current philosophies, the changing significance of individuals . . . these and other signposts of a civilisation progressing through the ages will be comprehensible to everyone.

**K Allt**

DR. JOSEPH NEEDHAM, F.R.S., is one of the world's experts on China and her culture, especially the history of her science and technology.

## WITHIN THE FOUR SEAS

**JOSEPH NEEDHAM**

Reprinted here are some of the most significant of Joseph Needham's essays. He compares China and Europe, their mutual relations, the ideas they have had of each other and reminds us of our scientific, technical and cultural heritages from China. 40s

## THE GRAND TITRATION

**JOSEPH NEEDHAM**

Dr. Needham explores the mystery of China's early lead in scientific and technical discoveries and inventions and Europe's later overtaking. No person with a spark of historical curiosity can fail to be absorbed by his approach to the great problem of the sociology of knowledge. 63s

**ALLEN & UNWIN**

# NOTEBOOK

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

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\* \* \*

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.

# SACU DIARY

## October

2 **Study Group.** 'The Impact of Imperialism'. 24 Warren Street, W1 (entrance Richardson Mews). Full details of programme available from SACU.

4 **Celebration Evening.** Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. See below.

9 **Study Group.** 'The Taiping Revolt'.

15 **Camden Branch.** Chinese film on Sino-Soviet Border dispute: followed by discussion. Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.30 pm.

16 **Study Group.** 'The May 4 Movement'.

16 **Cambridge Branch.** Public Meeting: 'China'. Dr Joseph Needham; Professor Joan Robinson; Roland

Berger. Keynes Hall, King's College. 8 pm.

23 **20th Anniversary Lecture.** Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Road, WC1. 7.15 pm. See below.

24 **Barnet Branch.** Chinese film on Sino-Soviet Border dispute: followed by discussion. Hendon Town Hall, The Burroughs, NW4. 7.45 pm.

30 **Study Group.** 'Personalities: Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek'.

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## China in the News

THE LATEST 'China in the News' (No 8) which deals with the 'Sino-Soviet Border Question' is now available: price 1s 6d to members; 2s 6d to non-members. The following issues of this series are also still in print: No 4 'China and the UN'; No. 5 'Chronology of the Cultural Revolution'; No 6 'Tibet'; No 7 'Hong Kong and the Rule of Law'. No 9, due out in October, will be 'China and South-east Asia'.

Subscription rates — for 10 issues — are: Members 15s; Non-members 20s.

Saturday, October 4

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**20th ANNIVERSARY LECTURES**

Dr Horn returned to Britain in the summer of 1969 having spent fourteen years in China working as a surgeon in Peking and elsewhere.



## Air France to Shanghai

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