

rial China, a history of which Maoist China is very much a part. It is in fact a conscious mirror of the transition from the first dynasty of imperial China, that of the Ch'in emperor Shih Huang-ti, to the establishment of the Confucian order of the great Han dynasty that followed.

In the third century B.C., the Ch'in emperor, on whom Mao consciously modeled himself, ruthlessly unified China and organized masses of Chinese peasants in huge *corvée* labor projects, including the construction of a large part of the Great Wall of China. He ended his rule in a spiral of dementia that included the purge and murder of intellectuals and the burning of most of the books in China.

Deng, like the great mandarin and Confucian Chou En-lai, his mentor, has taken the stance of the Han dynasty which followed that madness, promising an era of order, of the fatherly rule of the Confucian mandarin. The Han rule turned out to be less than benevolent, however, as it, too, attempted to move the great masses of Chinese peasantry in service of expansion of the Han state, and empire.

Deng and his associates, in fact, must still cling to Maoism—and Deng is very much a Maoist—inasmuch as Maoism is only a new moment in the long Chinese tradition of a Han empire based on a loyal peasant mass. Deng's economic perquisites to the peasantry are aimed at maintaining that loyalty, while his anti-industrial policy undermines the process of modernization they claim to want.

There is a crisis of ideology very much evident in China today—the questioning even in official Chinese publications as to the very purpose of the Chinese Revolution—which arises from a circumstance where the events of the last 20 years are now repudiated. Without the willingness or the ability to create a new leadership and a new elite that actually seeks modernization through science and technology in a rational world order, that crisis must ultimately catch up with the Dengists.

It is unlikely, however, that things will even get that far. The crucial factor is the economic strategy presently pursued by Deng: at best a short-term boost in living standards, a boost soon undermined by the failure to improve the basic productivity of the Chinese economy through mechanized agriculture, industrialization, and education. At that point Deng's incapacity to actually eliminate the other centers of power in China, to resolve the cracks in the foundation, will assert itself. That point may come sooner than many expect.

Stability has rarely prevailed in Chinese history except when looked at over the long sweep of history. There is little reason to believe that the present circumstances offer favorable prospects for that. Those who wander in the fantasy land of the China card will be the last to understand that fact.

China's new leadership

Last Feb. 29, China's Eleventh Party Central Committee closed its fifth and final plenary session, a six-day affair that produced some of the most significant leadership and policy changes in years. It signaled a major assault on radical Maoist elements in the party and government who have showed, or are likely to show, opposition to the policies of the current ruling faction headed by strongman Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping). Removed from their Politburo posts at this plenum were: Vice-Chairmen Wang Dongxing and Ji Dengkui, former Peking Mayor Wu De, and ex-commander of the Peking Military Region Chen Xilian. All four are recognized as leading Maoists opposed to the liberal "Four Modernizations" plan, which they view as a blasphemous departure from the line of the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The demise of the "Whateverists" (*fan shi pai*), those who believe that whatever Mao said was correct, coincided with the promotion of Deng associates to high party posts, many of whom had been victims of purges themselves. The Central Committee Secretariat, a body dismantled by Mao during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-68, was reestablished and stacked with Deng people.

The National People's Congress held from Aug. 29 to Sept. 10 saw much of the same, as leftist-leaning Premier Hua Guofeng, his own power base weakened by purges, stepped down as head of the government, to be replaced by Deng protégé Zhao Ziyang.

The following is an introduction to some of the new faces in the cast of characters that is likely to play major roles in China's future.



Zhao Ziyang: Politburo Standing Committee member, premier of State Council. Born to a wealthy landlord family in Huaxian, Henan; Zhao, younger at 61 than most of his peers, is already one of the most powerful men in China. He spent the early part of his career in

Guangdong Province where he led land and agricultural reforms, eventually rising to the post of first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Committee in 1965. Though attacked during the Cultural Revolution, Zhao survived relatively unscathed and in 1971 was made secretary of the Inner Mongolia Regional Committee. The following year he was reassigned to his previous post in Guangdong and in 1975, reportedly with the help of Deng Xiaoping, he replaced Liu Xingyuan, a follower of the disgraced Lin Biao, as secretary of Sichuan Province. It is there that he became famous for turning around the economic disaster that had befallen Sichuan, using policies now advocated nationally by the Deng clique. Zhao's rapid rise to the top has come largely on the coattails of his mentor Deng.



Hu Yaobang: Standing Committee Politburo member; secretary-general, Central Committee. This 65-year-old Deng protégé has spent most of his career as a propagandist, dealing primarily with the indoctrination of youth. Hu was brought to Peking from Sichuan by Deng in the 1950s. In 1965 he was elected to the Standing Committee of the Third National People's Congress, but shortly after came under attack by the Red Guards as a member of Liu Shaoqi's "revisionary" clique. Following the purge of the "Gang of Four," Hu was made head of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, president of the Academy of Sciences, and now is number six in the party hierarchy. Considered to be Deng's right hand man, Hu holds some very important posts and is an official to watch over the coming period.



Huang Hua: vice-premier of State Council, minister of foreign affairs. Huang, born in 1913 in Cixian County, Hebei, is without a doubt the most seasoned diplomat in China today. He was active in student politics while at Yenching University in Peking during the early 1930s, a period that coincided with pro-Mao publicist Edgar Snow's tenure as visiting professor there. He became very close to Snow and once took refuge in Snow's apartment after his release from a two-week imprisonment for participating in student demonstrations. Huang left for the Yen'an "Soviet Zone" (liberated zone) in the summer of 1936 to act as interpreter for Snow, who had gone that spring. The trip was reportedly financed by Mrs. Snow after she received word from her husband to send Huang. It was in Yen'an that Huang interpreted for the now famous dialogues between Mao Tse-tung and Edgar Snow. During World War II and the civil war, Huang worked as a correspondent for the New China News Agency in Chungking under his mentor Chou En-lai and disseminated anti-Kuomintang information among American military and diplomatic circles. During the Korean War he was in charge of indoctrination of POWs and was a Chinese representative to the armistice negotiations at Panmunjon in 1953. Huang served as an adviser and spokesman for the Chou En-lai led Chinese delegations to both the Geneva and Bandung conferences. From 1960 on, he was variously ambassador to Ghana, Canada, and the United Arab Republic, and China's permanent representative to the U.N. He has been China's foreign minister since 1976.



Peng Chong: Politburo member, Party Secretariat member, mayor of Shanghai. The 65-year-old Peng was born in Fujian Province but was raised in Singapore, returning to China in the early 1930s to join the Communist revolution. During the early part of his career, he served as a member of the Jiansu Provincial Secretariat and as mayor of Nanjing. During the Cultural Revolution, Peng was severely attacked by a wall-poster campaign carried out by his subordinates who criticized his "bourgeois life style." Guangdong Military Commander Xu Shiyong, the man who protected Deng Xiaoping during the "Gang of Four"-led anti-Deng campaign following the death of Chou En-lai, helped reinstate the disgraced Peng to the post of deputy political commissar of the Nanjing army units. He was elected to the party Politburo at the First Plenum of the Eleventh Party Central Committee and made a member of the recently reestablished party secretariat, a body Deng has stacked with his own supporters and will use to wield considerable power.



Wan Li: Party Central Secretariat member, vice-premier of State Council. Born in the same country of Sichuan Province as Deng Xiaoping, Wan studied in France as a young man. After working at the prefectural and provincial level, he followed Deng to Peking in 1953 and was appointed minister of urban construction in 1955. In 1958 he served at several municipal posts in the capital, supervising a number of major construction projects, including the Great Hall of the People. During the Cultural Revolution he came under attack from the Jiang Qing "Gang of Four" clique as a "counterrevolutionary" and was demoted. In 1975, with Deng as his agent of influence, Wan was rehabilitated and appointed minister of railways, only to be attacked again by the "Gang of Four" during the chaotic period that followed Chou En-lai's death. After the arrest of Jiang Qing and her associates, he replaced a pro-Gang of Four head in Anhui Province and is credited with reversing the economic collapse afflicting the province. Wan, regarded as a talented planner and administrator, is at the center of Deng Xiaoping's "Sichuan clique."



Fang Yi: Politburo member; vice-premier, State Council; Party Secretariat member. A native of Fujian Province, Fang held a number of low-level economic and financial posts in the provinces of Hubei, Anhui, and Shandong before being sent back to Fujian to lead the land reform there in 1951. Later he served as an economic affairs representative to Hanoi and minister of economic relations with foreign countries. Fang went on to such posts as vice-minister of finance and vice-minister of state planning, and eventually served as vice-premier of the State Council and president of the important Academy of Sciences. In 1967, during the height of the Cultural Revolution, Fang was attacked and temporarily suspended from all his posts. It is likely that he was saved from total disgrace by Chou En-lai, with whom he is

reported to have had a close connection. Following the arrest of the Gang of Four, he again assumed high office in both the party and government.



Gu Mu: vice-premier of State Council, Party Secretariat member. Born in 1914, Gu Mu hails from Shandong Province in the north. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, he was involved in economic planning, serving as a member of the State Construction Commission, the State Planning Commission, and the State Economic Commission. After holding a number of high-level ministerial posts, he became a vice-premier of the State Council. Like most of the new faces in Chinese politics, he was attacked and purged during the Cultural Revolution and rehabilitated after the downfall of the Gang of Four.



Yu Qiuli: vice-premier of State Council, Party Secretariat member, Politburo member. Yu, 66, is a native of Jian County, Jiangxi Province. He joined the Communist Party in 1931 and, after participating in the Long March, became a political commissar for a division of the famous Eighth Route Army. A long military career saw him attain the rank of lieutenant general while serving at a variety of military administrative posts, including director of the Political Department for both the Northwest and Lanchow Military Regions. In 1958 he was appointed a minister of the petroleum industry and elected deputy for Sichuan Province to the Second and Third National People's Congresses.

After being made vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission, he was attacked by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, then saved from political death by Chou En-lai. Of late, Yu appears to be part of a loosely-knit but identifiable pro-industry, pro-energy-expansion faction that does not seem to have fixed ties to either the Deng clique or the Gang of Four. Yu's recent removal from the State Planning Commission, along with recent insinuations in the press, indicate that he is to a large

degree blamed for the economic failures of the last three years. However, the State Energy Commission, to which Yu was recently appointed, is also a very important post, as competent energy management is crucial to the modernization of the country.

Yu Qiuli's most recent speeches have been in line with the Deng faction's policy of energy resource conservation, but attacks on the management of the petroleum industry have already felled Minister of the Petroleum Industry Song Zhenming and besmirched Vice-Premier for Petroleum Kang Shien with a "demerit of the first degree."

The ouster of Yu, Kang, and Vice-Premier Chen Muhua was demanded at September's National People's Congress by Wang Bingnan, who said in his speech that the three "enjoy prestige neither in the party nor the government." Yu's political position could get more unstable as the real power groupings precipitate out of the uncertainty of the next few months.



Zhang Aiping: vice-premier of State Council; Eleventh Party Central Committee member. Zhang was born in Sichuan Province and has been in the military throughout his career. He served under the recently rehabilitated General Peng Dehuai during the Long March. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Zhang rose within the army hierarchy and accompanied Chou En-lai as a member of military delegations visiting both India and Burma. He is now deputy chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army and director of the National Defense Scientific Commission.



Yang Dezhi: Party Secretariat member, Army chief of staff. The military careerist Yang was born in 1910 in Hunan Province. He is a veteran of campaigns against

the Japanese, the Nationalists, the Americans in Korea, and, most recently, the Vietnamese during the Sino-Vietnamese war of February 1979. Yang co-led the military operation against the Vietnamese with Deng's trusted friend and onetime protector General Xu Shiyou; both have since been called to Peking to assume important posts, Xu as a member of the Military Affairs Commission, and Yang as Army chief of staff. With faithful generals in charge of Peking military affairs, Deng views the capital as safe.



Peng Zhen: Politburo member; Standing Committee member, National People's Congress. A native of Shanxi Province, Peng was born in 1902 to a peasant family. In 1951 he became mayor of Peking, and gradually emerged as one of the most powerful men in China, achieving the ranks of Central Committee and Politburo member. Peng gained notoriety as the first Politburo member to fall victim to the Cultural Revolution. He was accused of a number of crimes and was tried three times in public before being purged in 1966.



Yao Yilin: vice-premier of State Council, Party Secretariat member. Born in Anhui Province, the 65-year-old Yao has been an economist throughout his career, specializing in financial and trade matters. He is usually the one to receive foreign trade delegations in his capacity as secretary general of the Financial and Economic Commission. Yao has held such important posts as minister of commerce and deputy director of the Office of Finance and Trade. He came under repeated attacks during the Cultural Revolution, but was reinstated after the ousting of the Gang of Four. Most recently he was called on to replace Yu Qiuli as head of the State Planning Commission.



Hu Qiaomu: Party Secretariat member. Hu was born in 1912 in Jiangsu Province, the son of a wealthy landlord. He has been a writer and a propagandist throughout his career and has held such posts as director of the New China News Agency and director of the *People's Daily*, China's most important newspaper. Earlier in his career he was close to Mao, serving as the Chairman's secretary and editing many of the party's more important documents. During the Cultural Revolution he was stripped of all his posts and was little heard from until after the fall of the Gang of Four, when he resurfaced and was appointed president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He has replaced Maoist Wang Dongxing as the man in charge of editing the writings of the late Chairman Mao.



Wang Bingnan, president of the China Friendship Association, Central Committee member. A long-time Chou En-lai associate, the 74-year-old son of a rich Shaanxi landlord is now head of the China Friendship Association, a foreign ministry-linked branch of Chinese intelligence. In 1931 he went to Germany to study at the University of Berlin where he joined the Comintern and married Anna von Kleist. Wang and his wife returned to China in 1936 and immediately went to Xian, Shaanxi, where he succeeded in persuading the nominally pro-Kuomintang (KMT) General Yang Hucheng to join the United Front against the Japanese, countermanding Chiang Kai-shek's orders not to deal with the Communists. All the while keeping his own party membership secret, Wang then made direct contact with the Communists, serving as a liaison between them and Yang. During this period he reportedly assisted the American

journalist and intelligence operative Edgar Snow while the latter was in Shaanxi. In 1937 he was sent to Chungking, then the site of diplomatic headquarters for most Western nations.

Wang's membership in the Communist Party was not betrayed until 1942, which enabled him to hold several lower-level KMT posts, augmenting his anti-KMT activities. After 1942 he became Chou En-lai's personal secretary, and remained as such throughout the war and immediate postwar period, except for a brief time in 1945, when he and his wife went to India to conduct Communist activities there. Like Huang Hua, he was in frequent contact with Westerners, in particular Americans, during the period of the Marshall mission.

Wang's postwar, pre-Cultural Revolution career saw him accompany Chou En-lai to the 1954 Geneva Conference and is highlighted by his nine-year tenure as ambassador to Poland, a period that coincided with the 1956 Hungarian uprisings. He was China's representative to the Chou-engineered Warsaw talks with the United States, which started in 1955, and was behind the scenes during the 1961 Geneva Conference on Laos. During the Cultural Revolution he was attacked and purged for "collusion with other countries." Rehabilitated after the Gang of Four's ouster, he is anti-Soviet, and is on record most recently as being very supportive of the "Solidarity" labor movement in Poland. Wang is a man to watch in matters of Chinese foreign policy, a contact point with Anglo-American circles.



Chen Yun: vice-chairman of Central Committee, Politburo Standing Committee member. Chen, 74, was elected to his current posts at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Central Committee in December 1978. He is an experienced economic official who is a long supporter of material incentives for workers, a view shared by the other architects of the new "Four Modernizations" economic program. Unlike many of the other recently elevated officials, Chen comes from a genuine working-class background. He has long been at odds with Maoist ideologues because of his economic views, which explains why his career has had more than its share of political ups and downs. Chen's recent promotion strengthens Deng Xiaoping's hold on party politics and policy.