ADB - 8

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Peiping, China
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Dear Mr. Rogers:

Yesterday I returned from an eight-day trip to the Inner Mongolian province of Suiyuan. I decided to make the trip when I discovered that my language tutors would not be available in the period between Christmas and New Year's Day. Instead of reporting at this time about my activities in Peiping during the past month, therefore, I will describe some of my observations and impressions in Suiyuan.

Of the eight days during which I was away from Peiping I spent three days in the city of Paotow, at the end of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, one day in Kweisui, capital of Suiyuan Province, and part of a day in Kalgan, capital of Chahar Province. Although in many respects Kalgan is economically and strategically the most important of these three cities, my stay there was too short to be of much practical value, and in this letter I will confine myself to what I observed and what I was told in the province of Suiyuan.

In Paotew I had time to see much of the city. In addition to interviewing the Mayor and the Garrison Commander, I talked with a varied assortment of people including leading traders, a local newspaper reporter, a hotel manager, a banker, a factory manager, and the city's postmaster, as well as with the people in the inn where I stayed, in restaurants, and in the streets. With the exception of the postmaster, and a Swedish missionary (the only permanent Occidental resident of the city), both of whom I met on the day of my departure, I met no one in the city who spoke English. Consequently all my interviews and conversations were in Chinese, and I was pleased to discover that I could get along reasonably well.

In Kweisui I was given official attention and care, which included a government car and an interpreter. As a result I was given a sort of conducted tour, but I did have interesting interviews with some of the provincial officials including the Chairman (or Governor) of Suiyuan Province, the **Provincial Commissioner of** Education, and the Mayor and Garrison Commander of Kweisui.

The entire trip was a short one, but I learned much that I had not known about the Province of Suiyuan, and I will pass on some of my observations and impressions to you.

The 510 mile railway between Peiping and Paotow cuts through four Chinese provinces and is flanked by some of the most spectacular mountain scenery in North China. Soon after leaving Peiping the train climbs away from the flat North China plain in Hopei and winds through the narrow defile of Nankow Pass. From there it follows a valley toward the mountain-rimmed basin which contains the city of Kalgan. It then runs westward along the Kalgan plain indChahardand through the Tatung basin in northern Shansi. To the north of the railway, along this stretch, there is a continuous ridge of mountains, part of the Yin Mountain system, at the base of which twists the outer loop of the Great Wall. From Tatung the rails turn and go through the eroded Fengchen highlands where the rolling hills look like tremendous waves about to engulf the thin ribbon of railway. in this region the railway passes beyond the final Great Wall barrier into the area considered to be the land of barbarians, beyond the pale of civilization, by Chinese of centuries past. In Suiyuan Province the railway again turns westward and follows the Kweisui plain, at the foot of the Taching Mountains. until it reaches Paotow, the western terminus of the line. When I made this trip the first snow of the year was falling, and the mountains and plains were white and beautiful.

Although the railway crosses four provinces, the territorial zone which it serves has been integrated into a single economic unit by virtue of the fact that cheap transportation has proved to be of more importance than provincial boundaries. Construction of the railway was started soon after the Russo-Japanese War when Yuan Shih-kai fostered the idea of a railway to promote commerce and cement ties between China Proper and Mongolia. The initial section of the line, from Peiping to Kalgan, was completed in 1909 and was the first railway in China to be built entirely with Chinese resources and by Chinese engineers. Thereafter, it was gradually extended until in the early 1920's it reached its present terminus at Paotow. The period of its construction was concurrent with important political as well as economic changes in the Inner Mongolian territories through which it passed. In January, 1914, special administrative territories known as Chahar and Suiyuan (and Jehol) were formed, and fourteen years later, in August, 1928, Chahar and Suiyuan (as well as Jehol, Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sikang) were given provincial status and were administratively assimilated into China.

The Peiping-Suiyuan Railway is in many respects the most efficient and comfortable railway in China today. It has had fewer interruptions during the past year than any other railway in North China, and it runs coaches and sleepers which are far superior to those on such important Central China routes as the Shanghai-Nanking line. The service is unusually good, and the "Paotow Special" which runs three times a week has a dining car and compartment sleepers.

In pre-war days this line was one of the most profitable in China, primarily because it paid less for coal (US\$.90 a ton in 1934) and less to its employees (US\$.16 average daily wage in 1934) than any other railway in the country. I am told, however, that the line is not self-supporting under present conditions. Labor is more expensive, and the Tatung coal mines are not producing at their pre-war level. The paying freight carried is less than before the war. And in addition, the Government has kept fares at an almost unbelievably low level. The

rate for a lower berth in a first-class compartment is less than three quarters of a cent a mile if computed in U.S. currency.

Cost is obviously not the most important consideration involved at present. Railways are of primary strategic importance in war-torn China, and ever since General Fu Tso-yi and his men wrested this part of China from the Communists over a year ago control of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway has enabled Chinese Nationalist troops to maintain stable conditions unique for Chinese territory north of the Yellow River.

A military atmosphere is apparent along the entire route of the railway. Stone and brick pillboxes surround every station and bridge, and in many areas lonely pillbox sentinels dot the ridges of flanking mountain ranges. Trenches and barbed wire are common sights, particularly around cities. There are thousands of soldiers in the railway zone, on trains, at stations, and even in the intervening countryside. Numerous fully-loaded troop trains travel the rails, and everyday a thickly-armored train, smeared with camouflage paint, and carrying machine guns, searchlights, 75 mm guns, spare tracks and ties, and troops, rolls up and down the line.

The number of troops which I saw may have been unusual, however, because my trip coincided (accidentally) with the first serious attempts by the Communists to disrupt the line since they were expelled from the region soon after the end of the Japanese War. On my journey westward I was delayed thirteen hours by a Communist attack which had severed the tracks between Kalgan and Tatung and halted all traffic for thirty-six hours. Traffic was again temporarily disrupted, at the time of my return trip, by the destruction of a bridge between Kalgan and Peiping. (These attacks, I later discovered, were part of a general Communist offensive against all of the Government-held rail—ways in North China.) I was greatly impressed by the speed with which the damage was repaired and normal traffic resumed.

I saw thousands of troops on the move in the railway zone, and many of these were cavalry. They were all well-dressed in yellow-green, padded uniforms, fur hats, fur coats, and fur-lined boots or shoes. They appeared to be well-pequipped with small arms, but artillery and heavy equipment were conspicuously lacking. They were orderly and disciplined, and apparently their morale was high. I will have a further word to say about soldiers and the army ( in a nation engulfed by civil war one is continually confronted by the military situation, and only with effort can one avoid placing too much emphasis on transitory situations and facts which are relatively temporary in importance), but first let me describe other impressions of Suiyuan.

The provinces of Suiyuan and Chahar are a part of the region which is still called Inner Mongolia. It would probably be more literally correct at present to call much of this region, including the railway zone areas which I visited, Outer China, for the Mongols have gradually been displaced by the Chinese. Even in Paotow Mongols are so scarce today that they are almost curiosities. The Mayor of that city states that there are only "three or four hundred" Mongols under his jurisdiction, and many of these speak Chinese, wear Chinese clothes, and to all intents and purposes have been assimilated by the Chinese.

This does not mean that the Mongols have completely disappeared, but it does mean that evidently they have largely been assimilated or pushed out of the railway zone by the colonization of Chinese agriculturalists and by the aggressiveness of Chinese traders and businessmen.

One official attitude which I encountered was the feeling that the Mongols are so small a minority that no Mongol-Chinese problem exists. I discovered some resentment over the fact that the Mongols are given special status and privileges (in their autonomous administration, their representation in the Provincial Government, their special schools, and so on) considered to be unjustified by their numerical strength. Some provincial officials hinted to me that if they had their way the National Government's policies toward the Mongols would be changed.

According to the Chinese officials with whom I talked. there are about 80,000 Mongols in Suiyuan Province, out of a total population of between two and two and one-half millions. (The Mongol population in all of Inner Mongolia is estimated to be about one-fifth of the total population.) The Suiyuan Mongols fall into four groups: the Ulan Chap League in the North, the Ikh Chao League in the Ordos Desert region enclosed by the great bend of the Yellow River, the Tumet Banner in the central part of the province, and the "Four Eastern Banners". The Chinese claim that the latter two groups have been almost completely assimilated by the Chinese population. The "banners" (into which all "leagues" are divided) are reported to be the basic Mongol administrative units. I was told that the Mongols are not taxed or conscripted by the Provincial Government (this is a claim which would require careful field investigation to verify), and that the banners have their own autonomous administrations under hereditary princes, levy their own taxes, and maintain their own garrisons. They are represented in the Provincial Government, however, by three members out of thirteen in the top provincial governing body (although none of these three hold key department chairmanships) and by several members in the elected, representative body in the province.

It seems clear, however, that the Mongols have been completely subordinated politically to the new majority, the Chinese, for not a single key post in the provincial administration is occupied by a Mongol. Their present position is a far cry from the times of the 13th to 15th Century Khanates, or even for that matter from the time of Altan Khan's 16th Century Inner Mongolian federation, and the 20th Century Chinese policy of sinicizing Inner Mongolia appears to have successfully de-Mongolized most of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway zone.

Another minority in Suiyuan Province is the Mohammedan group. I was given varying estimates of their numerical strength, but by taking an average I concluded that there are probably about 20,000 in the province, concentrated mainly in the cities of Paotow and Kweisui. Although it is claimed that they are racially different from the Chinese (with bigger noses and sharper features from their Turkish blood), they are intermingled with the "Han" Chinese majority, and even Chinese newcomers to the province have difficulty identify-

ing them unless they are wearing distinctive skull caps, as I discovered when I asked to have them pointed out to me.

Suiyuan Province is also one of the strongholds of the Catholic Church in China. A Belgian priest whom I met on the train told me that the Catholics in the province number between 80,000 and 100,000. (He said it was difficult to give a more exact number because the provincial and diocese boundaries are not coincident.) His own village of 300 families is entirely Catholic. The Church owns a considerable amount of land and carries on an extensive agricultural program, made possible in part at least by indemnities received from the Chinese Government after the Boxer Rebellion, and its strength is primarily in the countryside. The Protestant Church has fewer members than the Catholic Church in Suiyuan, but it is claimed to be felatively strong none theless, with its main support in towns and cities.

The economy of Suiyuan Province is a mixed one, by virtue of its intermediate position between the intensive, fixed, agricultural economy of China Proper and the extensive, mobile, pastoral economy of Mongolia. Agriculture has taken possession of the valleys paralleling the railway. Most of the flat land visible from the train is under cultivation, the individual fields being unusually large for China, but what I saw seemed to confirm reports I had read that much of this land is marginal. Some of the soil (but not all) is very sandy, and erosian is serious in many areas. I did not see the main agricultural area of the province, however, for it is located in a region called Hutae, west of Paotow. This region which is irrigated by canals from the Yellow River, is reported to be a very rich grain producing region providing most of the province's food needs as well as a surplus for export. Some people told me, however, that the soil in parts of the region is in danger of "wearing out", but at least one man I talked with was so enthusiastic about its future possibilities that he is planning to introduce mechanization on a large scale.

Much of Suiyuan Province, however, is still the domain of the pastoral nomad, and all sorts of livestock are raised in large numbers. Although I saw flocks of sheep, goats, and other animals in the regions traversed by the railway (particularly in parts of the Fengchen highlands), one has to go outside of the railway zone to see the important pastoral areas. I did, though, see the products of the pastoral economy of Inner Mongolia and Western China, and I saw them in abundance, for these products are the mainstay of trade, commerce, and business in Suiyuan Province. Statistics show that most of the animals and animal products of Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are collected and routed via Paotow and Kalgan to Tientsin, and the provinces listed ategether with Chahar and the Manchurian provinces) are the principal animal producing areas in China. Probably the chief economic significance of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway is the cheap transportation it provides for these products, and the livelihood of many of the towns and cities along the railway depends on this commerce.

Pao tow is a bustling entrepot city of betweem 70,000 amd 80,000 people. It is the western junction of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, and the eastern junction of caravan and trade routes coming from all parts of Inner Mongolia, Western China, and beyond. It is extremely colorful, for it combines old and new in an intriguing mixture. The city lies three miles north of the Yellow River near the foothills of the Taching Mountains. Within its mud wall almost all (except for a few of the most modern) buildings are a dull yellow-brown color, for their walls are made of raw, unplastered mud and straw. Except for two paved thoroughfares, the streets are narrow dirt alleys. Throughout the city are open markets and bazaars filled with wools, furs, and skins from the west and with manufactured articles including clothes, cloth, and hardware from eastern industrial cities such as Tientsin and Shanghai. The principal wholesale trading establishments are located in enclosed compounds filled with piles of wool and hides and crowded with camels resting between journeys.

Although it has a quaint atmosphere, the city is not devoid of some signs of modern development. Its 2500 kW electric plant provides better and more dependable lighting than the city of Peiping has at present. Its dynamo-operated telephone system works reasonably well. It has a daily newpaper ("The Paotow Daily") and two modern banks (with four others in the planning stage). It has several factories, the largest three being the electric plant, flour mill, and leather factory which are situated south of the city wall in the direction of the railway station and the river. The leather factory, which is the most important modern manufacturing establishment, was built by the Japanese in 1938-39, and at present turns out fifty cowhides and fifty sheepskins a day according to its manager. And of course the railway plays a dominant role in the life of the city.

The invasion of manufactured goods and western material culture into Suiyuan has followed the railway, and it is interesting to note the contrasting degrees of westernization (in the sense of technical modernization) as one goes west from Peiping. Kalgan, Kweisui, and Paotow can be placed on a descending scale in respect to the obvious manifestations of this particular form of acculturation.

Trade in Paotow is active during most of the year except during the summer when the majority of the animals upon which its trade depends are grazed and rested. In the winter most trade to and from the West is by camel caravan. There is some trucking, but it rearries rmore traders than trade. At present three companies in Paotow operate a fleet of trucks consisting of probably over fifty vehicles (the exact figures I was given were so contradictory that they cannot be considered reliable). The main route now operating follows the loop of the Yellow River and goes south to Ninghsia and Lanchow. When it is not frozen, as it is at present, the Yellow River itself is a major avenue for trade, since it is navigable by rafts and small boats between Ninghsia and Paotow and provides the cheapest transportation between those two points.

The primary basis of Paotow's trade is the exchange of livestock and animal products including sheep and camels wool, leather,

furs, and skins for products such as clothing, cloth, tea, sugar, and hardware. The city is currently suffering from a severe trade depression, however, in spite of the fact that considerable activity is observable in the markets and bazaars. One of the leading traders in the city told me that dwerall trade is only twenty percent of its pre-war (pre-1937) volume, and this figure was confirmed by the local manager of the Farmer's Bank of China branch and by others. Several explanations were given for this fact. Both supply and demand are involved. On the one hand, trade with Outer Mongolia has been entirely cut off since that country achieved independence. In addition, a drought during the past year is reported to have killed large numbers of livestock in the producing regions of China. On the other hand, foreign markets for China's animal products have not recovered since the end of the war, and the traders in Pao towalt much harder to sell to Tientsin, the main outlet for foreign trade of these products. The importance of these factors points to the high degree of commercialization which has taken place in the economy of the region. Despite it remoteness, it is very much affected by the general state of world politics and economics.

The trade depression, combined with inflation (which is serious even though prices are not as high as in such places as Peiping and Nanking) have greatly reduced the standard of living of much of the population, according to the people with whom I talked. Paotow faces an additional economic problem, also, arising from the fact that "several thousand" refugees have arrived in recent months from other areas in China where there is active fighting or where prices are higher than in Paotow. Many of these refugees are now beggars in the city's streets.

Although animal products play the dominant role in the economic life of Paotow, and of Suiyuan Province, there are other products of some significance (in addition, of course, to agicultural products, principally grains, which I have briefly mentioned). Coal is mined at several points in the Taching Mountains, and although it Hassattong competition from Tatung coal it apparently provides most of the needs of the western part of the railway zone. Soda comes from the region south of Paotow. Salt is collected in many parts of the province where there are tsaidam, or dried marshes, and from the train one sees the unique and simple method by which it is extracted from the soil. Dirt is piled into small mounds, and during the summer rainwater washes the salt to the bottom, from where it is easily removed by digging. Medicinal herbs and licorice are important products, particularly of the Ordos Desert region and other sandy areas. In addition, the province is reported to have some iron, gold, and gypsum. The Mayor of Paotow gave me an intriguing report of recent discoveries made by the National Resources Commissionido thetwest of Pao tow, of "atomic raw materials", but I could not discover exactly what these "materials" are, and the Mayor admitted that they are not being mined or exploited yet.

Modern industry is not well-developed in Suiyuan Province. There are a few modern factories in such places as Paotow and Kweisui, and a few at intermediate points along the railway, but not many. (There are more in the Shansi city of Tatung and the Chahar city of Kalgan according to all reports.) One interesting fact is that virtually

every factory about which I inquired was reported to have been built by the Japanese. The Japanese are credited with considerable material development (including roads and buildings as well as factories) during their occupation, but they are also accused of having attempted systematically to demoralize the people by such policies as the encouragement of opium planting and smoking and the limitation of educational opportunities.

I did not find evidence of many important, large-scale handicraft industries. Rug-making and blanket manufacture were the only ones which I personally saw, and I did not hear of any other major ones.

While Paotow is the main trading center of Suiyuan, Kweisui is the political center. Kweisui is actually two cities, Suiyuan and Kweihua, which are separated by about a mile. It is somewhat more modernized than Paotow, but it is less colorful and in many respects less interesting. Its total population is claimed to be about 160,000, of which roughly one-half are within the two urban parts of the city and the remainder are in the nearby countryside. Kweisui is the provincial capital and the seat of the provincial administration.

The main governing body in the province is the thirteen-member Provincial Government Commission appointed by the Executive Yuan of the National Government. The Chairman of this commission is the chief executive of the province. (The present incumbent, General Tung Ch'i Wu, is also Military Commander of the province.) There are four main Bureaus in the Government, Finance, Civics, Reconstruction, and Education, and the heads of these bureaus are among the thirteen appointed members of the Provincial Government Commission. In addition, there are numerouss department and administration under the commission. Any action taken by the Government must be approved, in theory at least, by a majority vote of the Provincial Government Commission which meets every Thursday afternoon and apparently functions as a sort of combined executive and legislative body.

Suiyuan Province has been the domain of General Fu Tso-yi since 1931 when he was first sent there by the National Government. Although soon after the war he moved to Kalgan as Pacification Commander and more recently has been appointed Commander of the North China Communist Suppression Headquarters in Peiping, the imprint of his leadership remains in the province. One of the members of the Provincial Government Commission told me that appointments to that body were madeby the National Government on the basis of suggestions presented by General Fu. Every high official that I myself met, including even the top local officials in the city of Paotow, had been personally associated with General Fu in the past. With a few exceptions, the top men that I met were military men. It is also significant, perhaps, that none of the officials I met claimed Suiyuan as his native province. Many came from Fu's own province of Shansi, while others were from Hopei, Honan, Shantung, and Hunan. A partial explanation for this may be the fact that a large percentage of the population in the province is composed of relative newcomers from other provinces, but it would be interesting to know whether

or not it is also a result of conscious administrative policy.

(It is also interesting to note, relative to the relations between the National Government and a province such as Suiyuan which is geographically remote from Nanking and has had strong local leadership, that Suiyuan is "not allowed" to have military arsenals within the province, according to the Mayor and Garrison Commander of Kweisui.)

In addition to the Provincial Government Commission, Suiyuan has a Provincial Council which is chosen by a general election every two years. Its functions, however, are purely advisory. And all key local officials in the province, such as mayors and haien (district) heads, are appointed by and responsible to the Provincial Government Commission.

The general political and military situation in Suiyuan Province since the end of the war apparently has been unique for North China. "T'ai P'ing", or "Great Peace", was a phrase used many times to describe it by local people in conversations with me. Immediately after the war, the Russians occupied Kalgan, in Chahar, and the Chinese Communists started moving into the railway zone, including the part in Suiyuan. At the same time, however, General Fu moved across the province from his wartime headquarters of Shenpa, in the Hutao district of western Suiyuan, and he was successful in completely clearing the province of Communists. Everyone with whom I talked stated that until the recent attacks on the railway there had been no major Communist activity in the province since the attacks on Paotow and Kweisui were repulsed, the Communists were pushed out of Kalgan (where they has followed the Russians and incidentally are reported to have taken over large stocks of Japanese equipment), and the province as a whole was cleared of Communists - all of which is said to have been accomplished soon after the end of the Japanese War.

High provincial officials in Suiyuan claim that the province's unusual stability can be attributed to the military genius of Fu and to universal support by the people as a result of his enlightened administrative and reform policies. They state that there is general fear and hate of the Communists (because of the destruction of property and the consceription of men they are alleged to have done while in the province), and that there is no opposition party or group ranged against the Government, even among among the cultural minorities in the province.

It was, of course, impossible for me to judge the validity of these claims on a quick trip which touched only a few points in the province. The evidence which I received from limited sources did seem to confirm, however, the facts that General Fu's popularity is widespread, that support of the regime associated with his name is unusually strong (again I have to add the qualification - among those with whom I talked and the elements of the population they claimed to be able to speak for), and that the provincial administration is one of the better ones in China in spite of the fact that it has defects and shortcomings.

The military and reform policies of the Provincial Government

were described to me by Chairman Tung Ch'i Wu and by General Chien Kuang Tou (Mayor and Garrison Commander of Kweisui). "'Aid the poor farmers and protect the rich farmers' is my motto", says General Tung. "The Communists attempt to stir up class hatred where it has never existed before. In effect they make everyone poor." The Provincial Governments land policy he states, is based on the principle of providing land for the landless without depriving present owners of their land. Land is confiscated from rich owners only in cases where they fail to register it for tax purposes. Otherwise the distributed land comes from territory unused at the present time. Of course, such a land policy could only be attempted in China's West. where the population is relatively sparse. It is doubtful, furthermore, if there is more than a limited amount of good agricultual land as yet unused even in Suiyuan which could be cultivated withouttextensive and expensive irrigation. Nonetheless, the policy is an interesting one. Suiyuan is in the area described a few years ago by a frominent Chinese writer (Chen Han-seng in "The Chinese Peasant"), probably with a degree of exaggeration and over-dramatization, as an area where "nearly all the land is owned by high officials, and the peasants are impoverished by commercial exploitation and high interest rates". It would be interesting to know more of how this land policy works in practice, how it meets the basic needs of the farmers in the province, and how it affects such non-agricultural groups as the mongols who may be interested in some of the "unused" land.

Land taxation in Suiyuan is legally limited to a maximum of ten percent of the annual produce of any farm, according to general Tung. The poorest farmers are exempt, he says, and the burden of the taxes which they would ordinarily pay is shifted to the wealthier farmers. I talked with only two persons who were in a position to give me estimates whichel considered non-partisan and reliable of theactual tax in certain parts of Suiyuan. One stated that in a village east of Paotow taxes this year amounted to about ten percent of the produce. The other stated that in a region west of Paotow land taxes a year ago were extremely heavy but that they had been considerably reduced during the past year.

Unfortunately, I did not obtain any information on policies regarding rents, interest rates, agricultural credit, and other important agricultural problems.

General fung states that a long-range industrial development program for Suiyuan province is currently being drawn up, but there is nothing on paper as yet which could be given to me.

The military tactics attributed to General Fu and his followers combine a policy of offensive-defense (as contrasted with a static defense of a few points) and a policy of actively enlisting the support of the common people. General Ch'en claims that, "already 210,000 men,out of a total of 240,000 in Suiyuan Province between the ages of 18 and 45(all of these figures are his), have been trained as People's militia. About one out of ten has his own rifle. This means that the militia has over 20,000 rifles. The people buy these

rifles themselves, but the Government provides them with ammunition when the situation requires it. If this is true, and I received the impression that the general policy he described is being followed even though his exact figures are open to critical examination, it would seem to indicate that the Government has a good deal of confidence in the people and in their support.

General Ch'en also asserts that in every Suiyuan village there is an Army and People's Cooperative Station composed of leading villagers. He says that when the army needs assistance from the people it can be requested from these stations. He further states that these stations can request the officers of nearby military units to provide soldiers to assist in digging irrigation works, plowing, and harvesting.

General Fu's troops have the reputation of being among the best in China, and the troops which I saw in Suiyuan made a favorable impression upon me. They appear to be healthy, disciplined, well-dressed, and orderly. I saw large numbers of troops and was impressed by the lack of any obvious evidences of friction between soldiers and civilians. The lack of ostentation on the part of the officers is remarkable also. All officers, including the top generals, wear cotton uniforms identical with those worn by the average soldiers.

My overall impression of Suiyuan was one of a province which is still in many respects a frontier, the potentialities of which are only partially developed. It is a province where one can observe many of China's frontier problems: the competition of agricultural and pastoral economies, the relations between Chinese and non-Chinese peoples, the infiltration of modern industrial products and the material culture accompanying them, the commercialization of geographically remote areas, and the administration of regions distant from Nanking.

Regarding the general political orientation of the area, I found no evidence of orientation toward Russia or Mongolia. In fact, there apparently are fewer contacts made with terrotories beyond China's western boundaries than there have been in the past, due to the closing of the Chinese-Outer Mongolian border. This observation, of course, applies only to the places and the people that I saw. It is possible that one would find a different orientation among the remaining Mongols in the province, as some reports in recent years seem to indicate.

Today I am recovering from a mild case of flu contracted on the trip (I learned what the books mean by "a cold, dry, continentaltype climate" and why almost everyone in Suiyuan dresses in skins and furs), but I will be back at my language and other work in a day or two.

Sincerely yours,

Dank Barnet

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