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EAST ASIA

Daniel Wright is an Institute Fellow studying the people and societies of inland China

Along the Way to Guizhou: Impressions from Shanghai to Southwest China

GUIZHOU, China OCTOBER 1997

Mr. Peter Bird Martin
Executive Director
Institute of Current World Affairs
4 West Wheelock Street
Hanover, NH 03755 USA

Dear Peter,

For the multitudes who streamed passed us as we strolled along Shanghai's Bund the evening of October 1, China's National Day, the issues of their country's backward, interior regions must have been far from their minds. Why should it have been on their minds anyway? For my wife and I, however, as we wandered through the sea of celebrants, our two young children strapped to our backs in backpacks, we could think of nothing else. China's hinterland dominated our thoughts; mountainous Guizhou Province in Southwest China — one of the country's poorest regions — was our final destination.

The Shanghai celebration was festive. Like a block party along Zhong Shan Road, which parallels the river front, Shanghainese had appeared en masse to enjoy the merriment: high school kids raced through the crowds, batting each other with inflatable, oversized hammers and beachballs; young couples led their child around with candy and plastic glow-strips; elderly couples walked contentedly, seemingly oblivious to the entire commotion — all under the glow of flashing neon lights, which lit the street like Times Square in New York City. What were they thinking about, I continued to wonder, as activity continued to swarm around me? For most of them, I suspect the enjoyment of a rare day off from work and school was preeminent. I mused how many were actually contemplating the important year this 48th National Day celebration marked: Deng Xiaoping had finally "gone to see Marx;" Hong Kong had returned to Chinese sovereignty; the Fifteenth Party Congress, which convenes every five years to evaluate and determine policy and leadership direction, had just concluded; and Jiang Zemin would be the first Chinese head of state to visit the United States in a dozen years.

"History has already shown and will further prove that 1997 is a crucial year for China," states Liu Ji, advisor to President Jiang Zemin and vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, in his preface to a recently published book entitled *Crucial Moment: the Twenty-seven Greatest Problems in China Today.* This 1997 best seller, intended to be a think-piece for China's leadership, is a comprehensive survey of the problems that face China today. Of the twenty-seven issues presented in *Crucial Moment*, China's regional development gap, floating population, unemployment, state-owned enterprises, and peasant problems —

ICWA LETTERS

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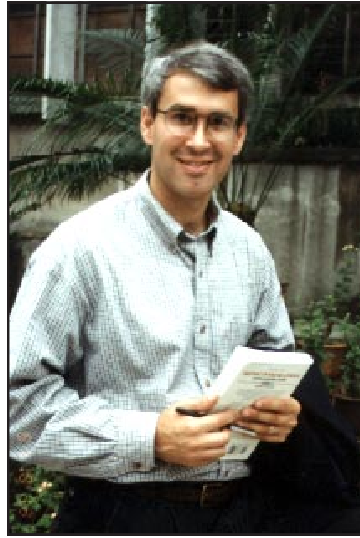
Listen to Dan Wright's description of some of the highlights of his four years in as a student of Chinese language and literature in Shanghai and Beijing:

There were "relationships at each juncture — professors who patiently taught me the intricacies of the language and opened doors to Chinese society and culture; government officials who took me into the confidence of their homes to express the challenges of leadership; farmers who allowed me to participate in their farmwork, as well as the refreshment of play with evening swims in their farm ponds; mid-level managers of a state-owned enterprise who included me as a participant and honorary member of their factory's fishing association; friendships with minorities who helped me better understand the difficulties of living in a Han-dominated society; a young woman — mute and missing a leg — who begged on a route I frequented and with whom I communicated by scribbling Chinese back and forth on a tattered pad of paper; and insights into intellectuals through my colleagues when I worked as a translator with the Foreign Language Bureau in Beijing."



During the two years he and his family will be living in impoverished Duyun, in remote Guizhou Province, Dan says that "these, and others like them, will be my local reality. And though I will live among and report on the grassroots of Duyun, I intend to travel widely and meet with government officials on the local, provincial and central levels. In so doing, I will report my observations in the context of how this small city, tucked away in the misty hills of Guizhou, fits into the larger context of China's interior, and thus how China's interior is a force in China's complex reality."

all of which directly involve China's interior — occupy a conspicuous position. China's decision-makers, and their advisors, have begun to realize that it is high time to address the downside of the statement Deng Xiaoping used to rationalize his coastal growth strategy: "Certain areas and certain groups of people should be encouraged to prosper first." The leadership, apparently, cannot afford to wait any longer to give attention to the pressing needs, longings, and comparisons made by those who have yet to prosper, the majority of whom live in the country's interior. Indeed, as China's interior continues to grow rapidly poorer relative to the coast (leading Chinese economists predict that the expanding gap will not narrow until some time between 2020 and 2050), the region will remain tremendously important for the overall development and future of the country — even if it lurks as an enlarging shadow rather than a policy priority. So, whether they are aware or not, I thought as I observed the masses who flowed around me, the future of Shanghai and China's coast is inextricably bound to the evolving realities of China's hinterland.

Before the evening celebration settled down, my family and I boarded a riverboat for a 9:00 p.m. departure that would take us 12 hours up the Yangtze River to my in-laws' home — a small town on the northern bank of the Yangtze called Kou'an (translated: 'mouth of the bank') in central Jiangsu Province, two-thirds of the way from Shanghai to Nanjing. The view of Shanghai's night lights, as we powered away from port and into the night, was striking: on one side of the river, the solid gaze of the 1930's downtown New York-style buildings, which front the Bund, appeared serene, if not a bit embarrassed to be dressed in flashing neon lights; on the other side of the river, the ominous 468-meter-high Oriental Pearl TV Tower — the landmark of the New Pudong Area that combines the look of a giant oil rig with something from Star Trek — stood erect in the night, colorful lights racing up and down its legs.

The ten days we spent with my in-laws were a wonderful family reunion, especially because it allowed our little Margaret (two years) and Jon (ten months) to meet their grandparents. The visit was also an important opportunity for me to reflect on the growth of Jiangsu Province. Since the summer of 1993, when I was married, I have traveled to Kou'an numerous times. Like the rest of Jiangsu Province, and China's coast, economic growth in this little town of 50,000 has exploded. I was particularly impressed with the strategic economic planning evidenced in the continued development of the area's infrastructure — a lag in telecommunication, transportation, and energy supply has been one of the area's primary bottlenecks to further growth. Improvements in transportation were most obvious — recently completed super highways, bridges and widened roads supplement the traditional canal networks that fan off from the Yangtze River (this is the area where the Grand Canal joins the Yangtze). The people I spoke with in Kou'an were proud of their town's accomplishments. An official at Gao Gang Harbor, which links Kou'an to the river, explained to me that since Gao Gang and Kou'an had been put under the

"China's interior" refers to China's central and western provinces (shaded) — those areas and people of China that were not among those, as the late Deng Xiaoping said, "encouraged to prosper first." Leading Chinese economists predict the relative wealth gap of coastal and interior China will not begin to narrow until some time between 2020 and 2050.

administrative umbrella of Taizhou City (within the last year), they had set their sights to surpass nearby Zhangjiagang — China's model urban city. "Our area will not only be known as a model port city, it will also be known as a garden city," the harbor official boasted. The prospects of Taizhou surpassing Zhangjiagang, in any aspect, are extremely doubtful; the fact that this man even had this thought, however, is significant in that it reflects his drive, and pride, to see his patch of China grow.

The ten days in Jiangsu Province and stopovers in Shanghai provided an important opportunity for observation and reflection on the status of China's coast. Throughout the visit to the coast, though, the question, "Why does the interior of China matter, anyway?"— the question that will ring in my ears for the next two years — filtered everything I observed and flavored all of my conversations. Though previously convinced that China's vast interior region is essential to an accurate understanding of China, not until I began to prepare for my departure from the U.S. did I began to appreciate just how backward China's hinterland is considered, even — especially — by Chinese themselves. At a going-away dinner held on my behalf by some Chinese diplomat friends in Washington, DC, one friend from Northeast China said, "I've been to Guizhou, once. Terrible! You'd better get yourself mentally prepared." "Poor, backward, hopeless," others moaned. I began to think that it is exactly because China's hinterland is relatively poor and backward, and vast, that we need to understand the region. Relative wealth and uneven development are combustible dynamics, particularly when a society's rate of change is so frenetic and the population is as large as they are in China. In China, as well, increased mobility and access to television — which have increased dramatically during the reform period (especially since the mid-1980s) — have agitated the perception of regional differences. A natural result, therefore, is a potential for friction and in-

stability, or at minimum a drag on the rest of the country. Though the average person on the coast may dismiss the interior, discussions among China's decision-makers, as demonstrated in *Crucial Moment*, and in recent policies that specifically target the interior (*e.g.* Ninth Five-Year Plan, 1996-2000), demonstrate that the interior must be better understood, and its role in China's future must be addressed. The domestic and international implications are profound. Gone are the days of privilege when the interior could be ignored without consequence.

In the United States we are guilty of misjudging China through simplistic analysis and generalizations — the history of U.S.-China relations and my three recent years of work in Washington, DC, convince me of this. The complexity, contradiction, and magnitude of China (culturally and linguistically, I often think of China as diverse as all of Europe, but "under one skin") require deep, thoughtful consideration. How quickly, for example, we skim over the reality, and impact, of China's 800 million farmers — or the fact that one out of every six people in the world lives in rural China. So it is, as well, with China's interior. In our deliberations about China, we must develop the capacity to think beyond Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou in considering the challenges, and the opportunities, of this enormous and evolving country. Understanding and ignorance are both powerful. The results, however, are drastically different. How true this has been in our relationship with China.

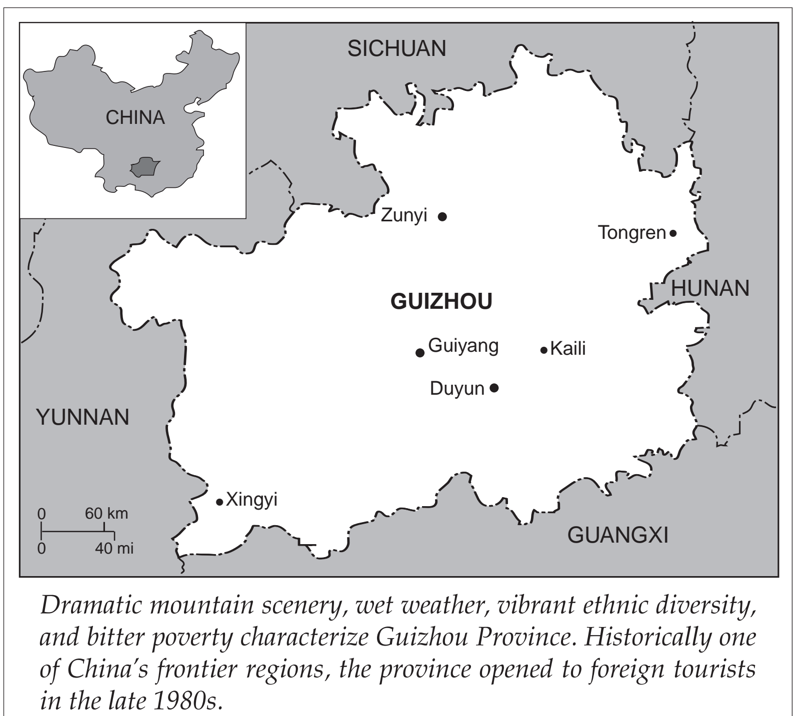
The morning before my family and I flew from Shanghai to Guiyang, the capital of Guizhou Province, we had breakfast and a long visit with Cheng Li — a good friend and former Institute of Current World Affairs Fellow. It was an encouragement to sense camaraderie and a passing of the ICWA baton in our quest to more deeply understand China in all its dimensions. As we sat together, savoring espresso and nibbling toasted bagels (once Cheng Li's indicator of how far Shanghai had "developed"), I told him that the choice of Duyun as our base had been confirmed by the consistent response I had received during my time of fellowship preparation. When I told Chinese friends and relatives, even diplomats, the name of the city we planned to live in for the next two years, the inevitable reply was: "Come again? … say that again … how do you write that? … nope, haven't heard of it." They hadn't heard of a city in their own country with a population the size of Knoxville, Portland or Tulsa? Granted, the population dissimilarity between the U.S. and China skews comparison, but the fact that just about everyone I spoke with had not even heard of Duyun, with its 460,000 people, gave me unusual pleasure.

The flight on China Southwest Airlines from Shanghai to Guiyang surprised me because I was not accustomed to any form of transportation in China that was not filled with people; the flight was about 30 percent full. The flight attendants, a Sichuan-based crew, confirmed that most flights to Guiyang were not full. Interesting. As we made our approach to the Guiyang airport, the terraced fields, which cut into the steep mountains like staircases, reminded me that we, indeed, were in a very different part of China. The rainy weather that greeted us was true to the city's name: *gui* (precious) *yang* (sun).

The recently completed "international" airport (it

Cheng Li, former Institute of Current World Affairs Fellow (1993-1995), and the author pictured in Shanghai the morning my family and I departed for Guizhou Province. As an ICWA fellow, Cheng Li's brilliant reportage on the political economy of China's coast (now published as Rediscovering China *by Rowman & Littlefield, 1997) made a significant contribution to our understanding of China. Cheng Li is associate professor of government at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York.*

currently services two charter flights to and from Hong Kong every week; negotiations with foreign countries have not yet been completed) has vastly improved air transportation for Guizhou Province. The impressive facility, embellished wall-to-wall with glossy brown marble floors, though for the most part empty, illustrates specific measures taken to enhance Guizhou's contacts with the outside. It also demonstrates the enormous cost of bringing capital improvements to Guizhou. The six-lane road, which slices through 16 kilometers of hills from the new airport to downtown Guiyang, cost 600 million yuan (approximately U.S.$75 million) — twice the amount needed for the same work in relatively flat Guangdong Province, and without the investment-return incentive. Unlike the surrounding provinces of Southwest China, Guizhou is completely landlocked, with disadvantaged access to international or other domestic markets. Yunnan Province, to the west, has the Mekong River and borders Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam; Sichuan Province, to the north, has the Yangtze River; and Guangxi Province, to the south, borders Vietnam and the South China Sea. Even Tibet has been able to benefit from border trade with Nepal. Guizhou's isolation and mountainous terrain (only 10 percent of the province's land is arable) create extremely difficult conditions for economic growth. As a result, the province consistently ranks among the five poorest provinces in China, and has the lowest per-capita GDP in the country.



Dramatic mountain scenery, wet weather, vibrant ethnic diversity, and bitter poverty characterize Guizhou Province. Historically one of China's frontier regions, the province opened to foreign tourists in the late 1980s.

At the airport we were greeted by the friendly face of Mr. Chen, who is the general manager of a hotel in Guiyang and whom I hosted on a visit he made to Washington, DC, in 1996. As we entered the edge of the city on the airport toll road, the memory of the airline attendants' lipstick-red outfits and the airplane interior's powder-blue seats suddenly seemed bright and especially clean. It was as if the "color television" we had been watching only two and half hours earlier, with all the colors of Shanghai, had just crackled, sizzled and popped to black and white. I was tempted to tap the van window to see if I could bring back the color to the set. Drizzle, mud, drab-gray, … the portion of Guiyang we drove through looked more like slums than the name used for Guiyang by those who live in other areas of the province – "little Hong Kong." If this is "little Hong Kong," I thought, I wonder what Duyun will be like? (I later found out that Duyun is called "little Guiyang" by those from the surrounding counties.) It is, after all, a matter of perspective, right?

Our general-manager friend hosted us for the evening at his hotel. His hospitality made us feel like we were not in a strange city. Dinner in the revolving restaurant on the top floor, "one of the best in Guiyang," was replete with flavorful dishes and plenty of red chili pepper. Guizhou, Sichuan and Hunan share a love for these pungent little vegetables. Mr. Chen was excited to tell us that his hotel, open now for just four years, had an apprentice relationship with the White Swan in Guangzhou, a luxury hotel located around the corner from the U.S. consulate. Much of his hotel's physical design, as well as its management training, were done under the guidance of the White Swan. The next morning at breakfast, before we boarded the train for Duyun, Mr. Chen said with a twinkle in his eye that the *baozi* (Chinese breakfast dumpling) restaurant on the hotel's ground floor had been set up through a relationship with a famous *baozi* company in the coastal city of Tianjin. Here again, like the new airport, were intentional links to the outside — in this case, to China's coast — designed to stimulate Guizhou's growth and development. (After since arriving in Duyun, I was told Qiannan Miao and Buyi Autonomous Prefecture, of which Duyun is the capital city, has a cooperative relationship with Shenzhen, the economic boom town near Hong Kong that has averaged a dizzying 45 percent growth rate since the mid-1980s.)

The train ride from Guiyang to Duyun threaded past steep, expansive mountains, river valleys and farmers hard at work with plows and water buffalo. After four hours the train slowed to a stop and we arrived at our final destination. Tim and Debbie Vinzani and their two children, dear friends from America who have lived in Duyun for the past six years, greeted us. They introduced us to school officials who helped us load our luggage into vans and head up the hill towards the college. After climbing 168 steps to our apartment, which is perched on the side of a mountain that looks over the school buildings, we were home.

My greatest impression of Duyun in the short three weeks we have been here is that it is a city of intriguing contrast and diversity. In some ways, Duyun reminds me

of China's coastal cities during the 1970s and early 1980s: foreigners are still gawked at, many citizens still wear navy-blue and green "Mao jackets," there are no foreign shops or foreign advertising, lunch break still lasts from 11:30 to 2:30 and the Bank of China, Duyun Branch, does not take American Express. In many other aspects, however, Duyun is everything of China in the 1990s: private enterprise, karaoke, video arcades, mahjong, VCR rental shops, and fashions from Shanghai and Hong Kong (4-6 inch platform shoes are "in" at the moment). I suspect peoples' attitudes and values reflect an interesting mix of these two periods as well.

Though Duyun is considered an urban area, shoulder poles and horse carts are as common as bicycles and cars. Sunday is still market day on which folks from the countryside trek to Duyun to sell their wares; roosters crow, and cows are led through streets by their owners. Duyun has a small-town feel — it's just that *this* small town goes on and on, sandwiched between high mountains, along a narrow river basin.

As the capital of an autonomous prefecture, Duyun is a rich melting pot of ethnicity. Of the 460,000 people in Duyun, 60 percent are ethnic-minority — predominantly Buyi, Miao and Shui. The remaining 40 percent are Han. Although many of the ethnic-minority peoples have become Han-ized, the diversity in appearance and dress is fascinating. On the surface, at least, Duyun seems quite content with its diversity.

Despite its backward status when compared to China's coast, Duyun's economy has improved greatly — although, like the rest of the country, the city is plagued by the state-enterprise quandary. Those in the area tell me that the biggest changes have come since 1993 (consistent with the rest of China). Like most people's tendency, however, comparisons are, more often than not, horizontal (with provincial capital Guiyang and coastal areas like Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Shanghai), rather than vertical (where they've come from themselves). People from Duyun and the outlying areas of Qiannan speak casually about traveling to the coast to look for work as part of China's massive internal migration. Most people I've met thus far have at least one family member who has gone to the coast in search of greater opportunity.

Duyun provides an intriguing perspective from which to view the goings-on of China's interior, both "above" at the provincial and regional levels, and "below" as a launching point into the realities, hopes, and struggles of Qiannan's towns and villages.

Our home for the next two years will be Qiannan Education College, a teacher-training college that provides two- to three-year education programs for young people, all non-college graduates, who have already been in the work force for a number of years. The college leadership has graciously welcomed me to spend the next two years here on a student visa, researching economic development and related policy issues. The college itself is a microcosm of the province; its 800-student population represents all of the minorities of the prefecture, and each of its counties.

I have also begun to meet those outside the school's student body. A new acquaintance is Mr. Weng, the subcontractor who renovated our apartment. A gifted and skilled individual, 34-year-old Mr. Weng is one of six children from what he described as a poor Shui minority family that lives an hour's bus ride from Duyun. Mr. Weng left his village in 1992 to "jump into the sea" — the expression used in Duyun to mean risking a secure, albeit low-paying job for more money in anything that will pay in the coastal provinces. He spent a year with a construction crew in Jiangsu Province "to see what it was like and to make some money." As he says is sometimes the case, he did not travel to the coast aimlessly — in other words, he didn't just wander there as the term "floating population" suggests. A friend who was already in Jiangsu let him know of the job opportunity.

Mr. Weng estimates that, of his friends who travel to the coast for work, most come home after two to three

A view of downtown Duyun from our apartment window. Though the capital city of the prefecture, Duyun has a small town-feel.

"Stylin" platform shoes and a traditional ethnic baby carrier illustrate the contrast and diversity that exist in Duyun.

years. Mr. Weng stayed on the coast for just one year before his young son fell ill and he was called home. He said he learned a lot on the coast that he has put into practice in his own home-improvement "company" here in Duyun. He rents a room in Duyun, and travels home to his family village on the weekends. While he was working on our apartment with his crew, I'd describe something we wanted done and he'd say, "Oh yes, I saw that when I was on the coast." Certainly, China's migrant labor, which has received so much press and academic attention (it should, it's 200 million-people strong) is a potential threat to social stability. From the perspective of those I have met thus far in Duyun who view traveling to the coast in search of work a necessity, however, the phenomenon has an important upside — those who travel are able to go and then return with new knowledge, drive and determination to make it at home. Some, I'm sure, never come back.

Lao Wen, in his sixties, is also from a Shui ethnic-minority group. He left his home village and grown children years ago to become the college's janitor, the strong back and extra pair of hands around campus. Despite his lowly position around the college, when he returns to his village — a three-hour bus trip and one-hour hike into the mountains — he is respected and valued as a leader. Father of four sons and a daughter, he and his family are also trying to make their way in the 1990s. On our second day in Duyun, I witnessed (literally; I signed my name as the witness) the signing of two loans provided to two of Lao Wen's sons. The loans approved by 3E (Education and Economic Development for Ethnic Minorities); it is registered as a cooperative venture under the local government, are start-up capital for a traditional family coffin-building business (as an ethnic minority privilege, the Shui are not required to incinerate their dead) and funds to raise pigs on the ground floor of their home, as is the custom. When my friend Tim, director of 3E, set the simple one-page contract in front of the young man, his father quickly stood up, said he'd be right back, and left the room. Fifteen minutes later, Lao Wen reappeared with a pair of reading glasses. The father slid the document away from his son and began to fill it out himself. Because the son had never lived outside his own village, he could not read. I look forward to following the young man's progress, and hope to spend time in the village during the course of the loan's one-year term. I also anticipate active involvement in advising this significant micro-loan program.

Tim and Debbie Vinzani's 3E, a non-profit development organization, bustles with activity, serving the poor of Duyun and the mountain communities of Qiannan. The core of 3E's work is to provide small loans to people who have a money-making idea but don't know how, or who are unable, to get a loan from the bank, or who are unwilling to pay exorbitant interest rates to loan sharks. Similar in principle to the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh and other micro-credit organizations, 3E endeavors to provide financial assistance (credit), training and support services to the poor who seek to operate their own very small businesses (micro-enterprises). In this way, 3E provides hope and practical opportunities for many that are trapped in the cycle of bitter poverty.

Tim recounts that three years ago, when he began 3E, his vision to provide small loans to the poor was not fully appreciated and was politely ignored by local government officials. The concept of micro-loans had to be patiently introduced to sympathetic leaders who were willing to give permission for 3E to begin operation. In each of its three years, 3E has grown and matured; the organization's loan count to date (October 28, 1997) has reached 64, directly involving 100 people and their families. Furthermore, all loans have been successfully repaid with interest; profit and dignity have been left with the loan recipient.

The Qiannan and Duyun governments now strongly back 3E. Some of the same officials who at one time doubted its viability now fully recognize the organization's role. At a recent banquet for visiting U.S. foundation executives, a former vice governor who now serves as head of Qiannan's CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a governmental consultative body) enthusiastically proclaimed, "3E is exactly what we need to be doing in Qiannan. It represents the model for helping poor mountain families in our

Qiannan Education College students and author (in background holding daughter Margaret) watching near-miss high jump attempt at school's annual sports meet. The school's students represent all minorities of the prefecture, and each of its counties.

area." As Duyun, with all its contrast and diversity, grows and changes, Tim and Debbie are at the center of it all — trusted by many as people who have set up their tent to stay, and creatively providing opportunities for those who may never otherwise have been given a hope or a prayer. The Vinzanis' find their work very fulfilling, even though the needs far outweigh their resources. Their work is also gratifying for me since I have had the joy of serving as a consultant for them since their organization's "dream stage." Tim used a paper I wrote in 1994 entitled *Lun Pinkun diqu jingji fazhan zhi lu* (*Paths to Economic Development in China's Impoverished Regions)* to present the micro-loan concept to local authorities. To return to Duyun after my first-and-only visit in 1994, and to see

Lao Wen's oldest son (father seated to his right) shakes hands with 3E Director Tim Vinzani on successful completion of loan application — the son and his brother will launch a traditional Shui coffin-building business and raise pigs on the first floor of their mountain village home. This loan and 63 others like it provide appropriate economic assistance and hope to the urban and rural poor of Guizhou Province's Qiannan Miao and Buyi Autonomous Prefecture.

3E's healthy progress, is pleasing indeed.

I have not been in Duyun long. And I learned a long time ago to be wary of instant experts — those who take week-long trips and return home to make all sorts of authoritative pronouncements. Nevertheless, my impressions are the beginnings of a personal journey to grow in wisdom and understanding about China's interior. It is exactly these lesser-known cities similar to Duyun throughout Southwest China and the rest of the country's hinterland that we must understand if we are going to connect the dots to create a clearer picture of China as the country enters the 21st century.

My fellowship with the Institute of Current World Affairs began exactly 50 years to the month after former ICWA Fellow Doak Barnett began his two-year trek across China on the eve of the communist revolution. To meet with him before departing the U.S. this summer was a privilege and inspiration. My fellowship also begins within months of the death of Deng Xiaoping, the return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty, the decisions of the 15th Party Congress (state-owned enterprise reform has particular significance for China's interior) and the first visit of a Chinese head of state to the United States in twelve years. My fellowship will conclude the day of China's 50th year anniversary, October 1, 1999, just on the eve of the year 2000. The weightiness of these dates feels immense, just as China's poorly understood hinterland weighs heavily on my mind as important to China's future — both for the country's internal development as well as for its place in the international order.

These three weeks' impressions whet my appetite to delve more deeply into the realities, struggles, and longings of the people of Southwest China. As an Institute of Current World Affairs Fellow in China's southwest, this will be quite a journey.

Sincerely,

Index to ICWA Letters by Daniel Wright

Entries refer to ICWA Letter (DBW-1, etc.) and page, with Letter number given before each page entry

B

Bank of China 1.6
baozi (Chinese breakfast dumpling) 1.5
Barnett, Doak 1.9
Bund 1.1, 1.2
Buyi 1.6

C

China Southwest Airlines 1.4
CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) 1.7

D

Deng Xiaoping 1.1, 1.2, 1.9
Duyun 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 1.9

E

economic conditions and trends 1.6
Education and Economic Development for Ethnic Minorities (3E) 1.7
ethnic groups. *See* Buyi; Han; Miao; Shui

F

Fifteenth Party Congress 1.1

G

Gao Gang Harbor 1.2
geography 1.5
Grand Canal 1.2
Guangxi 1.5
Guangzhou 1.4, 1.5, 1.6
Guiyang 1.4, 1.5, 1.6
Guizhou 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5

H

Han 1.6
Hong Kong 1.1, 1.5, 1.6, 1.9

J

Jiang Zemin 1.1
Jiangsu 1.2, 1.3, 1.6
jump into the sea 1.6

K

Kou'an 1.2

L

Laos 1.5
Li Cheng 1.4
lifestyles 1.6
Liu Ji 1.1

M

Mao jackets 1.6
Mekong River 1.5
Miao 1.6
micro-credit 1.7
micro-enterprises 1.7
migrant labor 1.7
Myanmar 1.5

N

Nanjing 1.2
National Day celebration 1.1
New Pudong Area 1.2
Ninth Five-Year Plan, 1996-2000 1.4

O

Oriental Pearl TV Tower 1.2

P

per-capita GDP 1.5
population 1.3, 1.4, 1.6
provinces (China). *See* Guangxi; Guizhou; Jiangsu; Sichuan; Tibet; Yunnan

Q

Qiannan 1.6, 1.7
Qiannan Education College 1.6, 1.8
Qiannan Miao and Buyi Autonomous Prefecture 1.5

R

rivers. *See* Mekong; Yangtze

S

Shanghai 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.6
Shenzhen 1.5, 1.6
Shui 1.6, 1.7, 1.8
Sichuan 1.5
South China Sea 1.5
Southwest Airlines 1.4

T

Taizhou City 1.3
Tianjin 1.5
Tibet 1.5

V

Vietnam 1.5
Vinzani, Debbie and Tim 1.5, 1.7, 1.8

W

White Swan hotel 1.5

Y

Yangtze River 1.2
Yunnan 1.5

Z

Zhangjiagang 1.3

Institute of Current World Affairs

Fellows and their Activities

Adam Smith Albion. A former research associate at the Institute for EastWest Studies at Prague in the Czech Republic, Adam is studying and writing about the republics of Central Asia, and their importance as actors within and without the former Soviet bloc. A Harvard graduate (1988; History), Adam has completed the first year of a two-year M. Litt. Degree in Russian/East European history and languages at Oxford University. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

Christopher P. Ball. An economist, Chris Ball holds a B.A. from the University of Alabama in Huntsville and attended the 1992 International Summer School at the London School of Economics. He studied Hungarian for two years in Budapest while serving as Project Director for the Hungarian Atlantic Council. As an Institute Fellow, he is studying and writing about Hungarian minorities in the former Soviet-bloc nations of East and Central Europe. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

Chenoa Egawa. An enrolled member of the Lummi Indian Nation, Chenoa is spending two years living among mesoAmerican Indians, studying successful and not-so-successful cooperative organizations designed to help the Indians market their manufactures, agricultural products and crafts without relying on middlemen. A former trade specialist for the American Indian Trade and Development Council of the Pacific Northwest, Chenoa's B.A. is in International Business and Spanish from the University of Washington in Seattle. [THE AMERICAS]

Marc Michaelson. A program manager for Save the Children in The Gambia, Marc has moved across Africa to the Horn, there to assess nation-building in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and (conditions permitting) availing and unavailing humanitarian efforts in northern Somalia and southern Sudan. With a B.A. in political science from Tufts, a year of non-degree study at the London School of Economics and a Master's in International Peace Studies from Notre Dame, he describes his postgraduate years as "seven years' experience in international development programming and peace research." [sub-SAHARA]

Randi Movich. The current John Miller Musser Memorial Forest & Society Fellow, Randi is spending two years in Guinea, West Africa, studying and writing about the ways in which indigenous women use forest resources for reproductive health. With a B.A. in biology from the University of California at Santa Cruz and a Master of Science degree in Forest Resources from the University of Idaho, Randi is building on two years' experience as a Peace Corps agroforestry extension agent in the same region of Guinea where she will be living as a Fellow with her husband, Jeff Fields — also the holder of an Idaho Master's in Forest Resources. [sub-SAHARA]

John B. Robinson. A 1991 Harvard graduate with a certificate of proficiency from the Institute of KiSwahili in Zanzibar, John spent two years as an English teacher in Tanzania. He received a Master's degree in Creative Writing from Brown University in 1995. He and his wife Delphine, a French oceanographer, are spending two years in Madagascar with their two young sons, Nicolas and Rowland, where he will be writing about varied aspects of the island-nation's struggle to survive industrial and natural-resource exploitation and the effects of a rapidly swelling population. [sub-SAHARA]

Daniel B. Wright. A sinologist with a Master's Degree in International Relations from the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University, Dan's fellowship immerses him in southwest China's Guizhou Province, where he, his journalist-wife Shou Guowei, and their two children (Margaret and Jon) will base themselves for two years in the city of Duyun. Previously a specialist on Asian and Chinese affairs for the Washington consulting firm of Andreae, Vick & Associates, Dan also studied Chinese literature at Beijing University and holds a Master of Divinity degree from Fuller Theological Seminary of Pasadena, California. [East Asia]

Teresa C. Yates. A former member of the American Civil Liberties Union's national task force on the workplace, Teresa is spending two years in South Africa observing and reporting on the efforts of the Mandela government to reform the national land-tenure system. A Vassar graduate with a juris doctor from the University of Cincinnati College of Law, Teresa had an internship at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies in Johannesburg in 1991 and 1992, studying the feasibility of including social and economic rights in the new South African constitution. [sub-SAHARA]

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