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Colorful Guizhou

'Not three feet of flat land,
not three days without rain,
not a family with three grams of silver.'
—centuries-old Chinese saying about Guizhou Province

GUIZHOU, China NOVEMBER 1997

By Daniel B. Wright

I have always been intrigued by the fickleness of perspective. Our first full month of life in southwest China's Guizhou Province yet again reminds me of this reality. Duyun City's drab-gray, which seemed so uniform when we first arrived, has somehow given way to distinctive shades and contrasts. Now it's just not all gray — there's the carbon-black gray of raw coal, the white-gray of the overcast sky, the grease-brown gray of sludge, the orange-gray of dirty brick, and the ever-changing gray hues of mountain mist at dawn and dusk. Against this "colorful" backdrop, occasional wildflowers, tender-green vegetables or red chili peppers (easily passed by when we first arrived) now leap out to announce their beauty and vitality. Indeed, Guizhou Province is beginning to come to life — or, better said, we are beginning to come to life in Guizhou.

So too it has been with each person I have encountered. There was the joy of a 20-year-old couple at their village wedding — you could just see it in their eyes; the anticipation of a mayor whose city is about to begin operation of Asia's largest phosphorous mine — you could hear it in his voice; the sunken, dark eyes of a farmer-turned-urban-laborer (earlier this century he would have been referred to as a 'coolie') who totes others' burdens on both his pushcart and back — his trembling hands communicated life's difficulties; the dignity of an elderly ethnic-minority woman, matriarch of her people — her posture reflected her unusual background; and the cynicism of a taxi driver who had abandoned his floundering state-owned factory job to take up driving — his tone of voice revealed his life's frustrations.

As the stories of each individual I have encountered in Guiyang, Duyun, and Yingpan village are blended together, a unique social landscape begins to emerge. This panorama, though painted with the broadest of brush-strokes, is nevertheless one of subtlety and dimension. Yet, how easy it is to overlook the complexity and depth of the past for the seemingly obvious present. Indeed, family background, personal experience and national history shape the person who walks past me on the street, hands me the oranges across the stall, drives me across town, or hosts me in his village.

While tapping out this section of the newsletter at my computer, a bright-eyed, middle-aged man who has been fixing some plumbing problems in our apartment arrived at the door. Mr. Yang is a Miao ethnic minority from a moun-

tain village in a neighboring prefecture. With the formative influence and importance of one's less-obvious past fresh on my mind, Mr. Yang and I sat down for a cup of tea. I told Mr. Yang I had been learning about Guizhou's recent history. He seemed curious, so I quizzed, "When you were born?"

"1958," he replied.

"That was the beginning of the Great Leap Forward. Did it affect you and your people up in the mountains?"

"Yes it did."

"Is it true that many people starved in Guizhou during that period?"

"Yes, many."

"You must have a special Mom to have helped you survive through that period, especially as a vulnerable baby."

"Yes. My two older brothers and I survived, but my father starved to death in 1960, when I was two years old. My mother never remarried and raised us by herself. If my Dad hadn't died, I probably wouldn't have had to leave my village to find work in the city. Things would have been much better."

Mr. Yang is a plumber — talented, honest and hard-working. He had walked through our apartment door numerous times before. But until today, I had seen only the single dimension of a man coming to repair our toilet. And while struck by the impact his father's tragic death must have had on his life, I was also reminded that Guizhou's 20th-century history — an aggregate of personal experience — contains innumerable stories of suffering, struggle, survival, pride and progress. As a point of departure, therefore, to better understand the contours of Guizhou's present realities — and thus to better consider her and China's future as well — I felt compelled to dig beneath the surface of Guizhou's present into her past.

EARLY 20TH CENTURY: CHAOS

Like the mist that rests over our city at dawn, Guizhou, for the first several decades of the 20th century, sat in the stupefied haze of opium and under the whimsical reign of warlords. Not that there had ever been a time when Guizhou had flourished; this frontier region had always been known for its harsh mountain terrain, scarce, rocky farmland and lawlessness. But to make matters worse, Guizhou at the turn of the century, like the rest of China, existed in a political vacuum — the Qing dynasty had collapsed (1911) and competitors vied to fill the vacancy; struggle, chaos and abuse were pervasive. The warlords, who fought constantly, depended on the size of their private armies for their ability to control; the armies' survival depended upon what they could take from the countryside. The poor peasant, in reality then, was forced to foot the bill.

Guizhou's peasants were already bitterly poor. What very little they had left was sold off or bartered to support the widespread and debilitating use of opium. Harrison E. Salisbury, in *The Long March: The Untold Story*, recounts:

> This [Guizhou] was opium country. Here, as Peasant Zeng observed, almost everyone of the age of fifteen and above smoked opium. They sat outside their huts puffing their pipes with glazed eyes, men, women, and teenagers. The men and teenagers often wore nothing but loin-cloths, the women not even that. The opium was piled up in brown stacks in the sheds like cow dung put out to dry. …Nothing was bad as the opium. Guizhou was saturated with it. It deadened, drugged, and immobilized the naked poor and it drenched the local armies. The warlord troops of Guizhou were known as 'two-gun men' — one was a rifle, the other an opium pipe.[1]

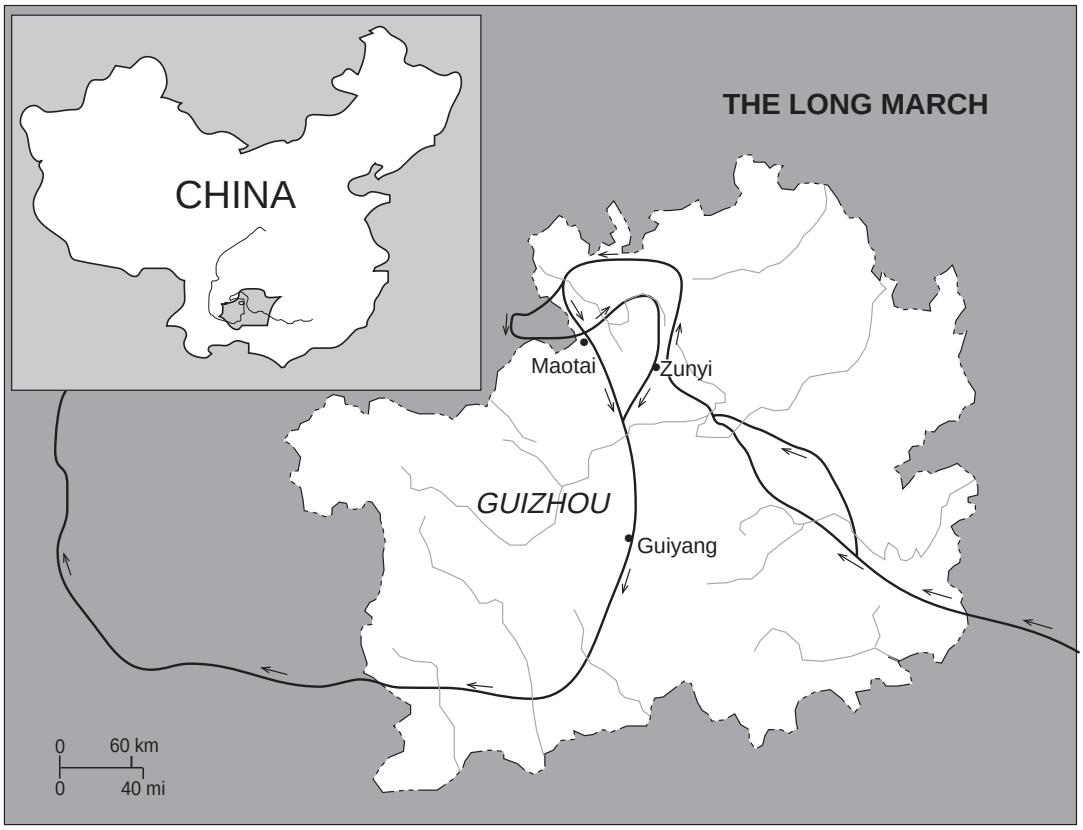
Guizhou's warlords and the power of opium immobilized Guizhou for the first several decades of this century. The havoc and oppression that resulted — excluding no ethnic group — was unimaginable.

1930-1940s: WAR

Through the 1930s and 1940s, warlords and opium commingled with the growing tide of civil war and, simultaneously, Japanese occupation and oppression. Japan's efforts to turn China into a colony, which seeped from northeast China down the coast and then inland, functioned intermittently to join the battling Communist and Kuomintang (Nationalist) parties in a united front. But whatever the alignment — Chinese against Japanese or Chinese against Chinese — it was, again, the people who suffered through it all. The common person became cannon fodder, his crops often confiscated at gunpoint to feed any hungry invader.

In the midst of this turbulent period, a struggling movement of young communist men and women, under the constant threat of enemy and starvation, straggled into Guizhou Province. Just months before, their company of 160,000 followers had been encircled and assaulted by half a million Kuomintang troops and bombed by two hundred war planes in Jiangxi Province (a Kuomintang power base). The offensive was a Kuomintang attempt to annihilate the growing commu-

[1] Harrison E. Salisbury, *The Long March: The Untold Story* (London: Macmillan, 1985).



The Long March — the Red Army's 'strategic retreat' — was a grueling, year-long, 5,965-mile trek from southeast China to the desolate caves of Yan'an in northwest China's Sha'anxi Province. Eighty to ninety percent of those who began the march deserted or perished along the way. The Long March was significant for Guizhou because, though the Kuomintang would control Guizhou until their final defeat in 1949, China's future leadership became familiar with Guizhou, its terrain and its people; Guizhou's people also became acquainted with the goals and values of the Communist Party movement. The result was a Guizhou more fully integrated into Chinese national life.

nist movement. In October 1934, 90,000 survivors broke through enemy lines to the west and, scattering to escape Chiang Kai-shek's planes, set forth on a strategic retreat — the Long March — through China's interior.

When the Red Army entered Guizhou in 1935, however, its eventual success was by no means apparent. In fact, by the time the Red Army arrived in Guizhou, it had narrowly escaped total defeat. In the city of Zunyi, Red Army leaders held a meeting (later referred to as the Zunyi Conference — January, 1935) to debate their next steps. Some participants advocated a turn on the Kuomintang to engage in decisive battle. Mao Zedong, however, clearly and persuasively articulated guerrilla tactics and a "strategic retreat" away from the Kuomintang further into the interior. The decision to follow Mao Zedong proved to be the means of survival for the Red Army. Mao emerged decisively from Zunyi as the leader of the Communist Revolution.

Edgar Snow, an American journalist, whose classic *Red Star Over China* is based on interviews with the movement's leaders, describes the magnitude of the accomplishment:

> Altogether the Reds crossed 18 mountain ranges, five of which were perennially snow-capped, and they crossed 24 rivers. They passed through 12 difference provinces, occupied 62 cities, and broke through enveloping armies of 10 different provincial warlords, besides defeating, eluding, or outmaneuvering the various forces of Central Government troops sent against them. They entered and successfully crossed six different aboriginal districts, and penetrated areas through which no Chinese army had gone for scores of years. However one may feel about the Reds and what they represent politically…, it is impossible to deny recognition of their Long March as one of the great exploits of military history.[2]

Just as grass began to grow on the trail of the Long March, however, an effort by the Japanese in the late 1930s to complete the war to colonize China drove hun-

[2] Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (New York: Grove, 1961).

dreds of thousands of coastal Chinese to seek refuge in China's interior. Precedent had been set by the Kuomintang Party, which had relocated its headquarters from Nanjing to Chongqing in Sichuan Province, and by the Communist Party, which had settled in Yan'an. An internal migration, no less extraordinary than the Communist Long March, ensued. For over a year a continuous flow of people, carrying goods and children, fled the coast for the interior. Entire classes of coastal university students trudged cross-country to relocate in campuses hopefully beyond reach of the Japanese. Key factories were disassembled by workers, packed in crates and dragged cross-country. One account reports that an entire textile mill was packed onto 380 junks and transported up the Yangtze River. A third of the boats that sank in the Yangtze rapids were raised, repacked and started on their way again.

In the winter of 1944, after a Japanese surge into Guizhou Province, the enemy advance came to an end on Guizhou's frozen mountain roads. Overextended across Asia, the Japanese discovered that the war had finally begun to turn against them. They withdrew completely from China one year later. Thereafter, Guizhou became a scene of protracted civil war, a sort of free-for-all in which the greatest menace to Guizhou's people, besides hunger, became bandits. In the absence of order, bands of marauders — some well-organized, others not; some politically motivated, others just out to reap material reward — plundered what little was left throughout war-torn Guizhou.

POST-1949: LIBERATION

Two weeks ago I met an elderly woman who, when in her early 30s, had fought these bandits in an effort to restore order and justice to her home in southern Guizhou. Meng Shihua, a stout, tough, but very kind woman who stood not a hair over 4 feet 10 inches tall, told me of her adventures in guerrilla warfare against the bandits just after the Communist Party's victory and establishment of the People's Republic of China — after "liberation."

Caught off guard to hear this 78-year-old woman say she had been a guerrilla warrior, I stumbled out with, "Wow, that must have been tough work."

"Difficult?" she slapped me on the arm with a half-smile, "It was ruthless, but we gradually eliminated them."

In 1955, Ms. Meng became mayor of her home mountain county — Sandu Shui Minority Autonomous County in southeastern Qiannan Prefecture. She served in that position until 1977. Sandu is the only autonomous Shui county in the country; over half of all 380,000 Shui people live in Sandu County. Over dinner that evening, Mayor Meng shared a big occasion — perhaps her life's greatest moment — with me.

In 1957, at the invitation of China's State Council, she was selected to represent the Shui people, as one of China's 56 ethnic groups, to attend that year's three-day

The author pictured in front of the site where Shanghai's Jiaotong University (President Jiang Zemin's alma mater) relocated during the Japanese occupation — Fuquan City in South Guizhou Province. The sign to the author's right reads: "Shanghai Jiatong University, Fuquan Branch, 1939-1944." These mountain locations, chosen in China's interior, were hoped to be beyond Japan's reach. Most of them were, just barely.

Meng Shihua — matriarch of the Shui people — with the author and his family, during a visit at her home. Ms. Meng served as mayor of Guizhou's Sandu County from 1955-1977.

Labor Day celebration in Beijing. This was her first trip to the country's capital. As a gift from her people to the central government leaders, she took with her 15 bottles of a Sandu County specialty: *Jiuqian tujiu* (home-grown rice wine from Jiuqian District). A day after her arrival, one of the organizers heard of the young Shui minority woman and the gift she had brought. He arranged for this young woman, dressed in her traditional costume, to offer the toast to Chairman Mao Zedong at the celebration's most important banquet, the final evening at Zhongnanhai (the Communist Party's primary office compound and home of senior Party leaders — China's equivalent to the White House). She described the encounter so vividly that I felt I was with her in the grand hall as she sat in her chair, waiting through the meal to be called to offer the toast. I asked if she was nervous during the wait. She grinned and said:

> "No, I was very brave. And plus, the organizer had reviewed the toast with me in advance and had shown me how to respectfully back away from the table after presenting the toast. I felt well-prepared, and waited patiently. Those seated around me did not know what I was about to do; they probably wondered, though, why I was so quiet. I didn't want to tell them beforehand about the honor I had been given. When the moment came, the attendant came and tapped me on the shoulder. I stood up, and walked toward the front of the crowded ballroom, toward the head table where Chairman Mao Zedong, President Liu Shaoqi, Premier Zhou Enlai, and the other leaders were seated. The waiter poured the wine. Chairs slid back, and the table rose. According to Shui custom, the women sing their toasts to the men. So standing there next to Chairman Mao, who towered above me — he was very tall, even taller than you — I sang a traditional toast in my native language: something like, 'I've come from far away, I really have nothing good to offer, but this wine is the best we have and it's made with the sweat of our brow.'

As she recalled her experience, she picked up a porcelain shot glass from the dinner table in her weathered hand, and continued:

> Normally, the song/toast would have climbed to a crescendo, a 'hooray' of celebration, and me pouring the cup of wine into his mouth. But as I completed the song, Chairman Mao suddenly raised his arm, stopping me in motion. Instead of inhaling the drink, he first sipped, then asked me what kind of wine this was. I replied that it was home-grown wine from my county in Guizhou. He paused, said "it tastes so sweet," and, raising the shot glass back to his lips, tilted his head back and drank it down. The ballroom erupted in applause; the entire place seemed to shake. As I was shown back to my seat, I felt so light, as if I was floating.

I asked Ms. Meng if there had been a picture taken of the encounter. She replied, "Yes there was. I was so taken with excitement, there were tears as large as corn kernels streaming down my cheeks; you could see them in the photograph. But Red Guards confiscated this picture during the Cultural Revolution. It's too bad, but that's the way things are."

For Ms. Meng this was a profound event, a moment of incredible affirmation for the bandit-fighting, country-girl-turned-mayor from the mountains of southwest China, suddenly to be toasting the most important — by

Meng Shihua at 1957 Labor Day celebration in Beijing (second from Mao Zedong's left, in dark outfit, clapping and looking towardsMao). Ms. Meng said she had been standing immediately to the left of Mao Zedong, and just in front of President Liu Shaoqi (behind Meng in photo), "when suddenly, just before the photographer snapped his camera, a young Mongolian girl burst through from the second row, almost knocking the Chairman over. I restrained myself and did not push back." The others in the picture are representatives of other ethnic minority groups dressed in traditional costume. Note Zhu De standing at far left. Zhu De was Mao Zedong's chief military advisor and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army.

that time, god-like — person in the entire country.

After "liberation" in 1949 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Guizhou Province became more fully integrated into national life. When I asked a former county-level vice mayor how his area's experience paralleled the rest of the country after 1949, he responded, "we experienced it all … land reform, Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution, reform." In fact," he said, "we were probably a lot more enthusiastic than other areas of China in carrying out these policies."

Perhaps he was referring to the radical, cataclysmic policies of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) and the subsequent famine during which between 20 to 40 million people died nationwide — likely the largest famine in human history.[3] History shows that Guizhou's leaders, though cautious at the beginning of the Great Leap Forward, accelerated their implementation of Great Leap policies in 1959 and became one of the most extreme provinces in the country. This is best demonstrated in the implementation of "mess hall eating," the touchstone of communal living during the Great Leap period. By 1960, over 90 percent of Guizhou's people were eating in mess halls. Guizhou's exemplary pursuit of these all-you-can-eat dining halls was noticed by Mao Zedong in 1959 — he called the entire nation to emulate Guizhou Province.

Unfortunately, the devastating results of Great Leap policy also reached national extremes in Guizhou. According to Dali Yang, in his book *Calamity and Reform in China*, Guizhou's mortality rate in 1959, 1960, and 1961 was 20.3, 52.3, and 23.3 (per 1,000 population) respectively — among the highest in the country. Compared to

[3] The Great Leap Forward (1958-1961) was an attempt launched by Mao Zedong to raise economic productivity dramatically through mass organization and revolutionary fervor. For an extensive study of the Great Leap Forward, subsequent famine and the effect it had on peasant and leadership attitudes, see Dali L. Yang, *Calamity and Reform,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[4] Ibid., 38.

Beijing (9.6, 9.2, and 10.8), Shanghai (6.9, 6.8, and 7.7) and coastal Jiangsu Province (14.6, 18.4, and 13.4), the numbers demonstrate that the Great Leap Famine was first and foremost a rural calamity.[4] Yet again, the rural and poor of Guizhou Province, which meant just about everyone at that time, suffered tragically.

1960-1970S: THIRD FRONT AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

As China hobbled into the 1960s, Mao Zedong became increasingly concerned that China was vulnerable to attack from foreign forces. China's relationship with the Soviet Union had turned sour, and had been broken off; the United States was increasingly involved in Vietnam. Chairman Mao was also concerned that Taiwan might take advantage of the post-Great Leap Forward crisis to launch an attack on the mainland's coastal cities. In August 1964, just two weeks after the United States escalated its bombing raids on North Vietnam, Mao Zedong convened a special meeting in which he called for the rapid development of a Third Front industrial structure in inland China, including the relocation of key coastal industries, machine-building factories, the development of electric power and the construction of railroads through Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan. The objective, therefore, of Third Front construction (as distinguished from the first and second lines of defense on China's coast) was to create an entire system within the country's most remote and strategically secure region — China's mountainous hinterland.[5] Mao ordered the plan to be implemented with maximum speed. It was. As China seethed in the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), an average of over 40 percent per annum of China's national investment during those ten years was poured into the accelerated development of this strategic industrial network — one of the most aggressive, centrally-planned investment programs of all time.

For Guizhou Province, in addition to the intellectuals who had been "sent to the countryside" (many came to Guizhou) during the Cultural Revolution, Third Front construction brought an infusion of new infrastructure, immigrants, skilled engineers and factories. I have encountered numerous individuals who migrated to Guizhou with their families during this period. I have also heard that, to this day, there are factories in the area where a Beijing or Shanghai accent is more common than the local Guizhou accent. The significant contribution of this massive influx of skill and capital to Guizhou's development is undeniable. Guizhou has experienced positive growth since the days when the investment program blew in. Yet economic decisions based on perceived external threat, with little if any consideration given to profitability or sustainability, planted seeds for eventual problems.

When the political atmosphere in China changed, and the rationale for Third Front construction disappeared, the central government modified (mid-1970s), and then abandoned (late-1970s, early-1980s) the inland development strategy. Instead, new precedence, under Deng Xiaoping, was given to a coast-based growth strategy — an approach that looked outward, not inward. Though some of the inland industries have done well, or have creatively found ways to team with coastal factories, the economic irrationality and over-extension of Third Front capital construction continue to create tremendous cost. In particular, many of the enterprises have become unsustainable welfare institutions that, destined to fail without an inexhaustible supply of funds, were left to rust throughout the province. Today, the legacy of these Third Front factories has left Guizhou with a major reform dilemma.

"The last 20 years of Guizhou's history — and for that matter, the entire country — have been the most peaceful and prosperous in at least the last 200 years."

LATE 1970S TO PRESENT: REFORM

For Guizhou's masses, both urban and rural, pragmatic policies of the reform-minded Deng Xiaoping and post-Deng eras have led to a dramatic increase in calm and the standard of living. Without a basic understanding of the chaos, war and bitterness of Guizhou's 20th-century history, however, it is impossible to appreciate the relative peace and prosperity now enjoyed by most. The last 20 years of Guizhou's history — and for that matter, the entire country — have been the most peaceful and prosperous in at least the last 200 years.

This is in no way, however, to minimize the problems that persist in Guizhou — tragedy, abuse and misplaced hope have left its scars. Add to that floundering state-owned-enterprises, many of which cannot even pay their workers' salaries and benefits; intractable rural poverty; enlarging wealth disparity (urban/rural, inland/coastal); growing corruption and crime; and a gnawing vacuum of belief. Guizhou Province, as does the rest of the country, has its plate full with challenges as it enters a new century.

But in the midst of Guizhou's on-going drama, Mr. Yang, the plumber will continue to fix leaks; the farmer-turned-laborer will strain in front of his loaded pushcart; the mayor will do his utmost to push through preparation of his city's phosphorous mine; the taxi driver will continue to scan the sidewalks for customers; and

[5] For an in-depth discussion of China's Third Front construction, see Barry Naughton, "The Third Front: Defence Industrialization in the Chinese Interior," *The China Quarterly*, no. 115 (September 1988): 351-386.

NING FAMILY PORTRAIT: The wedding was a grand occasion for the entire Ning family. Our one-year-old son Jon somehow I slipped into the family portrait (sitting on lap of woman, front row, far left).

WEDDING COUPLE: Singing continues through the ceremony as the couple puts new clothes on over their old clothes to represent their new lives. Bundles of red yarn over the bride and groom's shoulder are then tied and hung above the home's threshold. (see "tied knot" in background of family portrait, hanging over doorway).

couples will continue to fall in love and get married. The layers of memory and experience that have shaped these people, and others like them across the province, require understanding if we are ever going to begin to comprehend how they live in the present. An appreciation for that which is below the surface in their lives, moreover, is necessary if we are to more accurately consider the future of Guizhou and this region.

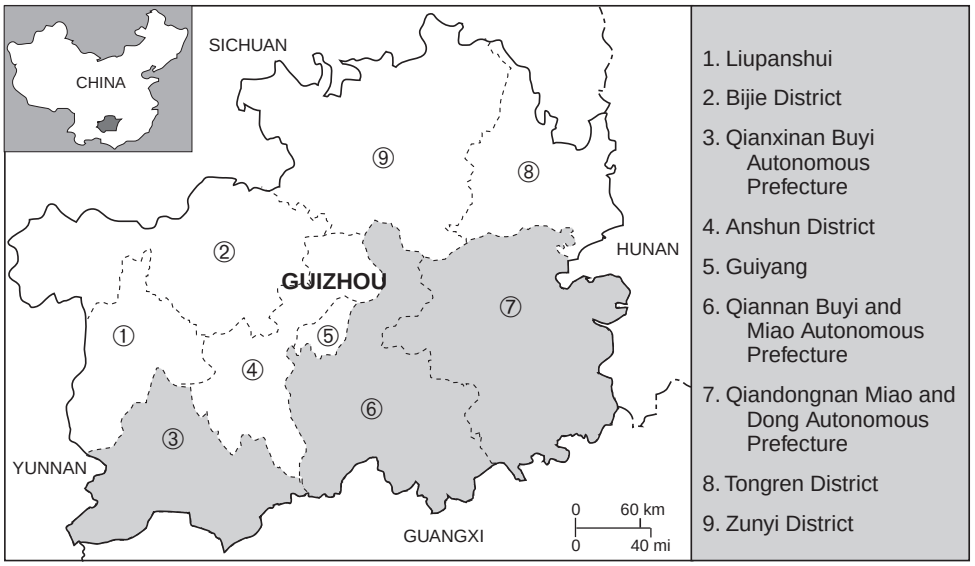
* * * * *

Of all the events I witnessed, I enjoyed the village wedding the most: the joy of a new beginning for this couple, the hand-shaking, the feasting (all 300 village-families enjoyed the slaughtered pigs), the fire-crackers, and the gifts. As I congratulated the parents and grandparents, I could not help but recall so much of what they would have experienced: warlords, bandits, Great Leap, famine, Cultural Revolution, and now reform. As thoughts of hardship and hunger entered my mind, the gaiety and laughter — and plentiful food — filled me with an appreciation for the peace of the occasion, and the hope for a better tomorrow. ❑

FAMILY PICTURE: Parents of the bride (seated) with youngest daughter (far left), newlywed son and daughter-in-law. The baby (wearing Miao headdress) arrived before the cultural wedding, but after the legal wedding. An older brother, the oldest of three children, left the village for China's coast one year ago in search of more money — part of China's floating population.

PROUD GRANDPARENTS: Familiarity with the events that have shaped the groom's grandparents' lives made me appreciate all the more the opportunity to meet and speak with them. This elderly couple had eight sons; six are still living.

Guizhou Province is divided into nine primary administrative units (including two cities, four districts and three autonomous prefectures). Qianxinan, Qiannan and Qiandongnan (shaded) are autonomous prefectures, meaning more than 50% of the population is non-Han.



Guizhou Province, to this day, has not been able to shed its centuries-old description: "not three feet of flat land, not three days without rain, not a family with three grams of silver." The province's widespread poverty — Guizhou's per-capita gross domestic product is the lowest in China (in 1994 it was 1,553 yuan, or $190) — is in large measure due to its severe physical conditions. But so too is the breath-taking karst limestone scenery that makes every a mountain pass a photo opportunity.

Landlocked in Southwest China, Guizhou lies between latitude 24.3° and 29°. Yunnan borders it to the west, Sichuan to the north, Hunan to the east, and Guangxi to the south. In terms of surface area, Guizhou is the sixteenth largest of China's 30 provinces. Its total area of 176,000 square kilometers (68,000 square miles) makes it about the size of Washington State, but with a population equivalent to the sum of California's and Oregon's (32 million) squeezed into its mountainous boundaries.

The province is situated on the eastern side of the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau and slopes downward from northwest (average over 4,000 feet) to southeast (average over 1,000 feet). The province's average elevation of over 3,000 feet and temperate-to-subtropical climate produce a fascinating variety of vegetation — to see banana trees and hemlocks growing side-by-side is not uncommon.

The predominantly limestone topography— the province is 87% mountainous, 10% hilly, 3% valley — means that arable land is scarce. These conditions create another problem: drought. Though it seems to rain almost continually, the shallow, rocky soil does not hold moisture well; rain seeps quickly down to the rivulets and rivers far below most villagers' homes. Attempts to irrigate are extremely arduous because for most farmers, technology consists of a bucket on each end of a shoulder pole, and a steep, treacherous path to the nearest source of water.

Beneath most of Guizhou's soil, however, lies an abundance of natural resources. Guizhou's coal reserves rank fourth in the nation (70% of its counties have coal), and in 14 classifications of minerals the province is ranked among the top five most abundant provinces. The coexistence of Guizhou's obvious poverty and disguised abundance is startling; one Chinese economist characterized Southwest China's backwardness as a "poverty of plenty."[6]

In terms of people, the colorful population, from a cultural perspective, is anything but impoverished. Guizhou has the fifth largest ethnic population in China. Thirteen ethnic groups, including Miao, Buyi, Shui, Dong, Yi, Yao — each distinguished by their headdresses, delicate embroidery, handicrafts, cultures and languages — constitute 34% of Guizhou's 32 million people. Where we live in Qiannan Buyi and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in southern Guizhou, 60% of the 3.2 million population is non-Han. The wide variety of ethnic minority peoples and their customs make for over 1,000 festivals across the province each year.

Guizhou Province is divided into nine primary administrative units (including two cities, four districts and three autonomous prefectures) within which are 86 county units. Major administrative divisions include regional district, prefecture, city, county, town and village.

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[6] Wang Xiaoqiang and Bai Nanfeng, translated by Angela Knox, *Furao de pinkun,* (The Poverty of Plenty) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

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]

Chosen on the basis of character, previous experience and promise, Institute Fellows are young professionals funded to spend a minimum of two years carrying out self-designed programs of study and writing outside the United States. The Fellows are required to report their findings and experiences from the field once a month. They can write on any subject, as formally or informally as they wish. The result is a unique form of reporting, analysis and periodic assessment of international events and issues.

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