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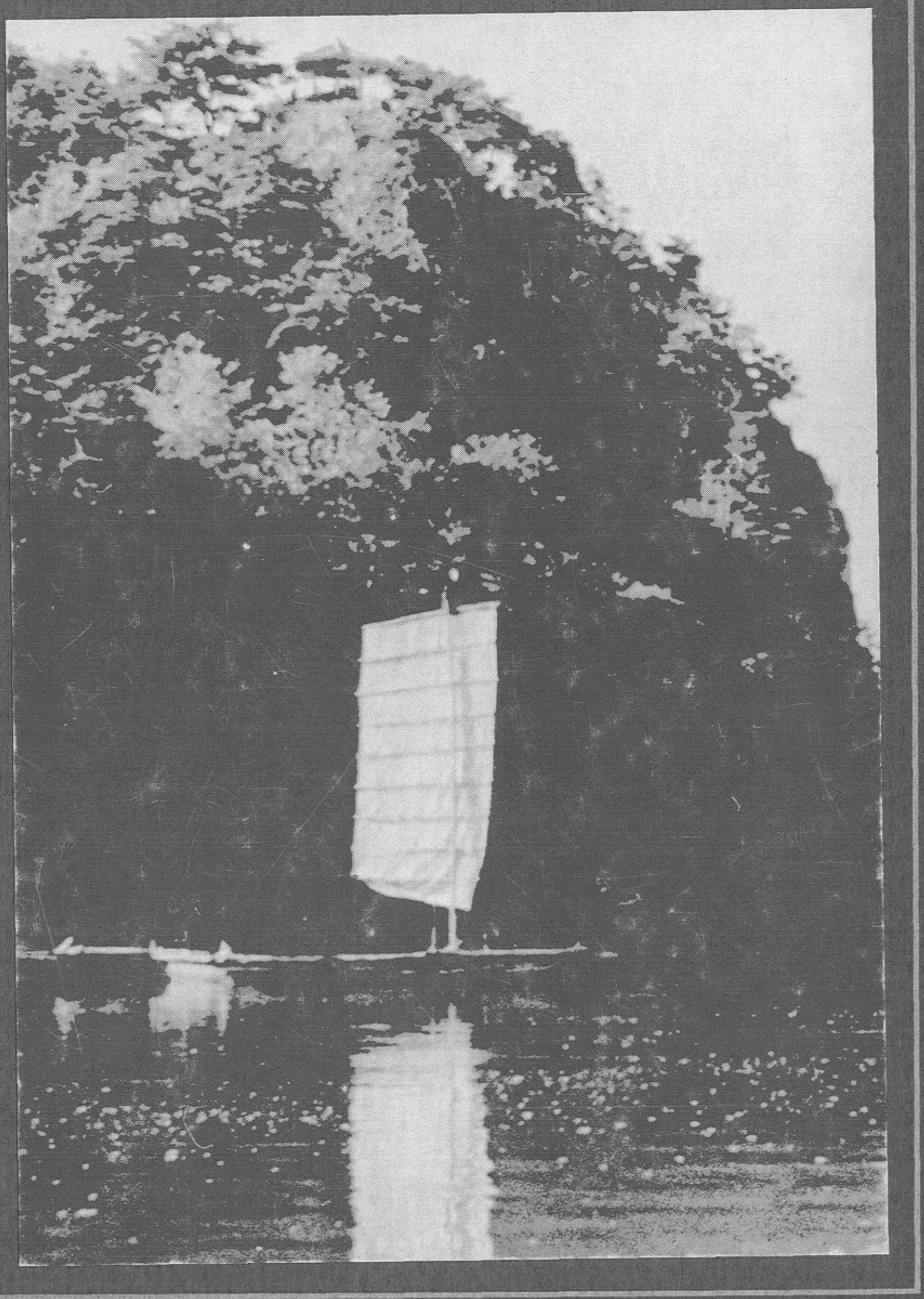

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars
Autumn 1971 Brigham Young University

COVER: Typical of flat-bottomed sailing boats which have plied the coasts of eastern Asia for many hundreds of years, this is a scene from Nakhwa'am, South Korea. Interest in this picturesque area is enhanced by a popular tradition, which dates back to the seventh century, in which 3,000 Korean ladies of the Paekche dynasty reportedly jumped to certain death from the rugged cliffs into the sea rather than submit to invading T'ang Chinese troops.

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Guest Editor's Prologue

SPENCER J. PALMER*

During mid-March of 1971, the Brigham Young University student academics office, in cooperation with the Asian Studies faculty, carried out an ambitious and comprehensive program called East-West Week. Under the leadership of Reed Wilcox, vice-president of academics, and William McCurdy, a senior in Asian Studies, the program included an impressive array of speakers, panels, displays, and cultural events dealing with Asia. In an effort to provide invigorating experiences for the students as well as for the Utah public at large, activities were focused around two general themes: Asia and the United States and Asia and the Church (that is, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints).

East-West Week was warmly and widely received, and its proceedings of such timely interest to the LDS scholarly community that the Editor of *BYU Studies* decided to devote a special issue to selected features of the program. The results of that decision are published herein.

THE UNITED STATES AND ASIA

Richard M. Nixon's momentous announcement in July that he intends to initiate a new era of rapprochement between the United States and the People's Republic of China by making a personal visit to Chinese leaders in Peking has triggered almost cataclysmic reverberations throughout the world. By that act, the thrust of American policy in East Asia has suddenly become the improvement of relations with communist China. Also by that act, a host of new equations in American foreign policy have emerged. These involve realignments, risks, and new problems in United States relations with Japan, the

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two Koreas, the two Vietnams, south and southeast Asia, Mongolia, the Soviet Union, and, perhaps most critically, the Republic of China in Taiwan.

Four months before the onset of this sudden turn of events —in guest appearances at BYU's East-West Week—several leading Asian specialists reaffirmed their positions on U.S. policy vis-a-vis Vietnam, Korea, and the People's Republic of China.

Roger Hilsman, a Columbia University political scientist, who has served as U.S. Undersecretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and John K. Fairbank of Harvard, one of America's foremost experts on modern Chinese history, were two of these guests. Each in his own way underscored the need for a detente in Sino-American relations. Each concluded that it was in the best interests of the United States for the mainland government to be encouraged to participate in the UN, but that such a policy must be combined with a cognate attitude of firmness. Taking critical, independent positions toward the question of the relationship of the Taiwan and mainland regimes, each reiterated a "two-Chinas" policy (a position they have separately advocated for many years, but one which was regarded by some last March as very "liberal").

According to Hilsman, the United States has handled its foreign relations with Europe and the Soviet Union rather well, but in its attempts to deter and isolate the People's Republic of China its policies have failed. The key to a viable foreign policy in Asia rests upon recognition of the forces and values which have gone into the making of the virulent emerging nationalisms of that part of the world.

Fairbank places great stress on the importance of seeing the People's Republic in historical perspective. It is not simply a communist state, but a *Chinese* communist nation. Revolutionary change in China must be viewed from the vantage point of traditional Chinese experience. No effectual American policy can be established without cognizance of the historical roots of Chinese pride, that country's village-culture background, her stay-at-home Confucian philosophy, and her traditional ruling class.

Both Fairbank and Hilsman picture Mao Tse-tung as a symbol of the process of change in China. He is an example of how the Chinese revolution has deviated from the Leninist

norm. But even after his death, it can be expected that the People's Republic will be cautious if not hostile toward the West and the Soviet Union.

Chong-Sik Lee's perceptive study deals with North Korea's precarious juxtaposition between Moscow and Peking and the recurring frustrations of the Democratic People's Republic in trying to steer a course between adhering to the international tenets of Marxism-Leninism and being responsive to peculiar Korean needs. He reaffirms the fundamental importance of national self-interest in any assessment of Asian international affairs. Especially significant is his discussion of the "Cult of Personality" associated with Kim Il-song and the question of why North Korea has shown such "hawkish behavior" in recent times.

The erudite and almost poetic study of "Buddhist Images," by Richard Edwards, of the University of Michigan, is a fresh approach to Buddhist art which should enthrall all students of Asian culture. It deals with principal symbols through which the Buddha ideal is made present. Focusing on imagery in northwest India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, areas which have been most intriguing to Westerners because of apparent connections with Greek and Roman styles of Mediterranean art, Edwards argues that these intrinsically aesthetic expressions are from the heart of India and the Asian world. Native, Asian elements have gone into the creation of the great images of Shotorak and Bamiyan; non-Mediterranean aspects are discernible in Gandharan art.

In so saying, Edwards strikes a theme basic to all the Asia specialists at East-West Week—Westerners have been too prone to see Asia only from the vantage point of their own background, not from the background of the Asian peoples themselves.

THE CHURCH AND ASIA

At the outset of one of John Fairbank's Provo lectures, he emphasized the importance of Christian missions in modern Asian affairs. Recognizing that Brigham Young University is relatively unique among American institutions of higher learning, in that a disproportionately large number of its students have served as Mormon missionaries in the countries of Asia, he remarked: "This is a group of people who have a special

background, a special competence to look at this problem of American relations with other peoples . . . ."

Because the missionary work of the LDS Church is substantial in Asian lands, and because there are now more than 30,000 Mormons of oriental ancestry there, the BYU community has intrinsic ties in Asia. Consequently, there was generous interest in East-West Week events dealing with Asia and the Church.

The first was an address by Elder Howard W. Hunter, member of the Council of the Twelve of the Church, who is also a member of the BYU Board of Trustees. His message was that, while major Christian churches are facing a substantial decline in membership in Asia, the Mormon faith is growing counter to that trend. He attributed this to the lay missionary program of the Church and to a keen Mormon interest in the cultures of the peoples in those countries where missionaries have labored or where servicemen have served. The interest of the Church in the education of its world-wide membership has also been vital, since Church growth is highest in those areas where schools have been established.

At the symposium on "Problems and Opportunities of Missionary Work in Asia," moderated by R. Lanier Britsch and consisting of four well-known Mormon mission presidents who have worked among the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos, the discussion centered on proselyting methods, goals, and results; the communication of Mormon values in Asian societies; and special problems arising from racial and cultural difference. Three basic themes or conclusions emerged: (1) The LDS Church has begun to break from its Western stance into a newly attained international, world-wide movement; (2) recent wars and revolutions in Asia have provided new opportunities for the Church; and (3) despite the nonprofessionalism of the Mormon missionaries, since World War II their work has expanded at an impressive rate.

The LDS Church is a relative newcomer in Asia but records of its activities have been scrupulously maintained in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. Robert H. Slover's preliminary survey of these resources, appearing in this issue of *BYU Studies,* is the first published inventory of Mormon missionary materials relating to Asia.

The United States and Asia

American Foreign Policy: Focus on Asia

ROGER HILSMAN*

Let me with broad brush strokes try to describe American foreign policy from World War II to the present; then talk about the cold war; relations with the Soviet Union; very briefly about the Middle East; more about Communist China; even more perhaps about what I would call the "emerging nationalism," that is, the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Finally, I will end up with Vietnam because how we get out of Vietnam, how we leave what has turned out to be a quagmire, will set the tone of international politics for decades to come, perhaps for the rest of this century.

At the end of World War II, the United States, somewhat to its surprise, found itself faced with a cold war with the Soviet Union. We were faced with a monolithic Communist world in which Moscow called the tune. We were faced with an essentially aggressive Communist world, in which they were probing, testing our defenses and the will and determination of the non-Communist world. Basically, I think the United States handled its relations with the Soviet Union rather well. We understood the requirements of deterrence. Even those who were critical of American foreign policy, such as George Kennan, were critical of our having over-reacted, rather than not reacting at all. Perhaps we did over-react at times to the so-called Communist threat, and perhaps we were a little slow to realize when the threat diminished. Perhaps we kept up our fighting stance a little longer than was necessary; but on the whole, I think we handled it rather well. I think the Marshall Plan, the rebuilding of

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Europe, will go down in history as a farsighted, generous act of policy, really the first time in the world's history that a nation has taxed itself to build not only our devastated allies' countries but also our exenemies. I think we can be proud of that.

In terms of dealing with the underdeveloped world, we started off very good indeed. We recognized that colonialism was dead and we were on the right side of history in that we favored independence movements for India, for Indonesia, for our own excolony, the Philippines, and so on. It may come as a surprise to some people to learn that at the end of World War II we were supporting Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Communist North. Our OSS agents (I was in OSS at the time) were with Ho Chi Minh. Our support was for him because he was the leader of the nationalist or independence movement in Vietnam. President Roosevelt was convinced that independence and the end of colonialism was the future.

Now our support for independence movements was somewhat tarnished by the cold war. I don't think we had much choice. As the Soviet Union probed out and pushed, we found ourselves in a cold war. We found ourselves faced with a more or less monolithic Communist world, and therefore, we had to compromise or adjust our support for the independence movements. I would not necessarily say it was bad, I would say it was tarnished.

I think the great failure in foreign policy in the postwar years was our China policy. We became doctrinaire, rigid, idealogical, and dogmatic. We did not handle our relations with Communist China in essentially the "wise way" that we did with the Soviet Union. With the Soviet Union we put up a posture of deterrence to their probes, but at the same time continued to negotiate with them. With China we simply put up a posture of deterrence and attempted to isolate China. I think this was a mistake.

So where are we now? We are in an entirely different period. The cold war is undergoing a transformation. Indeed, the Soviet Union is undergoing a transformation. In the first place, we are no longer faced with a Communist monolith. The truth of the matter is that world communism is in disarray. The Sino-Soviet dispute is a fundamental fact

of this disarray. This is as important an international political fact as anything that has happened in our day. The truth of the matter is that even if China and the Soviet Union someday restore friendly relations it will never be the same. Never again will Moscow be able to dictate to Peking. If friendly relations are restored, it will be more similar to the relations between Washington and London or Washington and Paris. Even in the eastern European Communist nations, the Soviet Union no longer can dictate in the way it once did. I say this in spite of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union panicked when it thought that Czechoslovakia was going so far as to become anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, and prowestern. In Poland and Rumania there is an independence from Moscow that did not exist a few years ago. They will continue to be loyal allies of the Soviet Union, do not misunderstand me. I only mean that they are not quite the puppets they once were. We are dealing with an entirely different situation. I think the implications of this situation are that, whereas we once had a policy toward the Communist world, we now must have a policy toward Moscow, toward Warsaw, another toward Prague, another toward Hanoi, another toward Peking, and another toward North Korea.

Now let me repeat that this is not the end of the cold war. I do not wish to suggest that the leopard has changed its spots. The Communist world is still ambitious. The Communist world is still atheistic, if you will. We are not becoming like each other, in spite of changes inside the Soviet Union. The rivalry will continue, but it is a different situation because the Communist world is no longer a monolith. Also, Moscow has had some bitter experiences in the world. First of all, it has had some bitter experiences with the underdeveloped countries. They have poured a billion dollars into Indonesia seeking a war at the time of the West New Guinea crisis in 1962, and they failed. It was a wasted effort. They poured a lot of money into Guinea, who eventually kicked the Soviets out. The same thing happened with Ghana. So they have had a bitter experience in thinking they could make puppets of the underdeveloped world.

The Soviets have had other experiences which have fundamentally altered the Soviet way of looking at the outside world. I'm referring, for example, to the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. It was my privilege to be a participant in those

events as director of intelligence of the Department of State. I sat around that table. What happened was that the Soviets and we both looked down a gun barrel of nuclear war and both of us shrank back from the holocaust that we saw at the other end.

For the Soviets we can put it in very crude and simple terms. Communism has claimed that the end justifies the means. In those stark, dramatic days of the Cuban missile crisis, the world's first nuclear crisis, the Soviets came to believe that there was one means that no end could ever justify, and that means would be nuclear war. That would be the end of all ends to have a nuclear war, and I think they came to understand that.

Now this does not mean that they are no longer Communists, but what it does mean is that they are now sober Communists. So I would say that we must make these distinctions about the cold war: that it has changed its nature, that we are not faced with a monolithic communism, and that the Communist world is a sober world.

Let me say something now about the Middle East. We are caught where we have to try to remain friends with both the Arabs and the Israelis. The Soviets are playing games in the Middle East; I think dangerous games. But here again, it is absolutely essential that we do not face a new threat by assuming it is like the last threat. This is not the Soviet Union spreading communism. The Egyptians, Nasser, and his successor Sadat, are not Communists. There is no effective Egyptian Communist party. They're anti-Communists. All the Egyptian Communists are in jail or exiled, but Russia has been giving Egypt and the Arab countries massive amounts of military aid, and there are fifteen thousand Russian advisers manning some of those surface-to-air missile sites in Egypt. But it is a game that has almost nothing to do with communism as an idealogy or a doctrine. This is a game that Russia could have played under the czars.

Since I'm going to have some fairly harsh things to say about the Nixon administration's Vietnam policy, I think here I will say the Nixon administration has had a very wise, intelligent, sophisticated Middle East policy. By and large, the progress that has been made in the Middle East toward negotiation and the credit can be given to the Nixon administration. Their bringing about negotiations between the

Israelis and the Arabs has been a very good thing. I do not see that anything else can be done by the United States in the Middle East except what we are doing; that is, reluctantly to support Israel when the arms balance gets out of balance, when the Arabs get too far ahead, and at the same time urgently talk to the Soviets, pointing out the risk they are taking, patiently trying to play upon the differences within the Soviet government.

Now let us turn to east Asia. I will speak more about Asia, not just because I was assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs. I am not a Far East specialist, I am a generalist. I succeeded Averell Harriman, and he's not a Far Eastern expert either. But I would like to talk about the Far East because I think it is vitally important. And I'm thinking now of China.

Let me set the scene by saying that I wish to avoid two traps. One is the trap that Dean Rusk fell into, I believe, shortly before the end of the Johnson administration. He made a speech in which he talked about a billion Chinese in a few decades armed with nuclear weapons. The press quickly labeled this speech rather unfairly the "Yellow Peril" speech. I think it was rather unfair because Rusk gave the image of a Chinese nation so aggressive as to be eager to invade and occupy its neighbors. I do not think this is correct. This is a trap that I wish to avoid. But on the other hand, I do not want to fall into the trap of having you believe that they are a bunch of nice guys. The truth lies somewhere in the middle between these two positions.

Now against that background, let us take a quick look at China. First of all this is a nation of approximately 750 million people. They are ambitious, hard-working, self-disciplined, scientific, artistic—as capable as any other people. They occupy a country of continental size within whose borders are all the resources for making China a great power equal to any in the world. They have had a peculiar history. Their relationship to their neighbors has been either that of master to vassal, or as the sick man of Asia over whose prostrate body other nations—those of the West, and even Japan—trampled almost at will.

The Chinese are now coming out of the trauma of the so-called cultural revolution. First of all, it is not a revolt by the mass of the Chinese peasants against their Communist

tyrants. The masses are not revolting. It has nothing to do with Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists on Taiwan. Chiang is forgotten. I have to say in honesty that the mass of the Chinese people do not know who Chiang is and don't care. He's never going to come back to the mainland in my judgment.

The cultural revolution is one of the few revolutions in the world's history that has come from above. It really stems from Mao Tse-tung's concept of permanent revolution, which includes a constant churning of society so as to prevent the emergence of a new ruling elite. In a practical political sense the cultural revolution is a struggle between several different factions of the Communist party of China.

I would say that the important thing for Americans to remember or to understand about the cultural revolution is that John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower's secretary of state, was fundamentally wrong when he said that communism was a passing phase in China. The victors of the cultural revolution will be one or another faction of the Communist party. The Communist party will continue to rule China. Now again, if I had been speaking in the 1950s or the 1940s, to say that China would be ruled by one or another faction of the Communist party would be to say something rather important and significant. To say that today is to say nothing. Which Communist party? Which kind of communism—Stalin's; or Tito's; or Breshnev's and Kosygin's; or Dubcek's somewhat prowestern, anti-Soviet kind of communism; or Mao Tse-tung's kind of communism; or some other kind? They are all as different as day and night. It goes back to what I meant when I said in the beginning that we could no longer have a policy toward communism.

So to say that China will be ruled by one or another faction of the Communist party is to say nothing of any importance. You can say something about who will succeed Mao, but what you say about them largely is that they are Chinese rather than Communists. They will be ambitious, very ambitious, indeed. They will be ambitious to restore China to its former place of dominance in Asia. They will be ambitious to give China a voice in world affairs commensurate with the size of its population, the size of its territory, indeed its stature as a nation.

You could also say that the Communist party that survives and takes over after Mao will be hostile to the outside world. It will be hostile not just to the United States and the West, it will be hostile to its fellow Communist power, the Soviet Union. Partly this is Chinese. Partly it is the history of the Communist party of China—their long march, and their long sojourn in the caves of Yenan. But they will be hostile to the outside world; whether it is a Communist outside world or non-Communist outside world, they will be hostile.

But at the same time the Chinese will be extraordinarily cautious, extraordinarily realistic in their assessment of what they can do and what they can get away with. Let me illustrate this point by a little anecdote. In 1962, at the time of the Chinese-Indian War, when they fought a very sharp but very short war, President Kennedy sent a team of five people to New Delhi to find out what was happening and what the United States should do. This was headed by Averell Harriman and included myself. When we got to New Delhi it was Thanksgiving Day of 1962. A week or ten days before that, the Chinese armies up in the northeast frontier of India had defeated the Indian army. When we landed in New Delhi, there was not a single battalion of the Indian army standing between us and the mass Chinese armies in the northeast frontier. Yet the Chinese stopped short of the line to which they had some vague historical claim and unilaterally and voluntarily withdrew twelve and one-half miles. Now why did they do this? It wasn't because the Indian army was effective. I think they did it partly out of respect for Indian nationalism, understanding that if they did invade and try to occupy India they would be faced with the kind of guerrilla warfare we have seen to our sorrow in Vietnam. Asian nationalism would fight against a foreign invader.

I think, second of all, they feared a Soviet reaction if they invaded. The Soviets had been encouraging Chinese neutralism, and the Chinese attack on India was a slap in the Soviets' face as well as a humiliation for India.

Finally, I think they feared our possible reaction.

What I'm trying to say is that the Chinese are going to be extraordinarily cautious. It seems to me that our policy of attempting to isolate Communist China should be changed. Many non-Chinese people in Asia think we are the cause of

Chinese aggressiveness because of this policy, that we ought to have the same policy toward China as we have toward the Soviet Union. We should trade with them in anything but military hardware. Instead, we have a policy that we will not trade even nylon stockings. Not only that, we try to twist the arms of our allies to try to prevent them from trading in peaceful, nonmilitary goods. It is a silly policy. It seems to me that it will be a long, hard road. It will be decades before we reach the stage with China that we have reached with the Soviet Union. But as the Chinese say, a journey of a thousand miles starts with a single step. That step is overdue.

Once again, let me pay Mr. Nixon something of a compliment in that he has lifted travel restrictions, a step which I think is in the right direction; but Mr. Nixon ought to move much more rapidly in this direction, more rapidly to bring China into the United Nations.

Now I have emerging nationalism and Vietnam to deal with in fifteen minutes, which is a formidable task. By emerging nationalism, I am thinking of the underdeveloped countries, not only of Asia, but of Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. I think what you're going to see here is a new and virile form of nationalism. You got a taste of it by watching Egypt under Nasser, Indonesia under Sukarno, Ghana under Nkrumah, Cambodia under Shianonk. All these leaders are gone now, but the nationalism continues, and I think you are going to see more of it in more countries. I think nations like the Philippines are going to be taking positions that the unsophisticated will think are anti-American, or antiforeign. Actually, I think it will be pro-Filipino. It will be more nationalistic than anything else.

Let me say that it is hard to understand these virulent nationalisms. For example, they use the verbiage of Marx. They sound like Communists, but they are not Communists. They use a lot of the verbiage of socialism, but in fact they are nationalists.

Predictions in international politics are difficult. My crystal ball is no less cloudy than anyone else's. But if I had to make a predication about the wave of the future, it would be that it is not communism in these underdeveloped countries of the world; nor is it some Pax Americana. It is this new nationalism where they will borrow and choose from social-

ism, from capitalism, and from all the other "isms," and put a large dose of their own traditions in it for their course.

I would like to mention briefly at least four things about the Asian countries which we ought to understand. First, I would like to give you the vision that I see of what is happening out there. For two of three thousand years these people of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and even Latin America have been psychologically, economically, and politically turned inward in essentially a village culture. I was a guerrilla leader in World War II in Southeast Asia, and I can remember operating in Laos, China, Burma, and Thailand, but you never knew which country you were in because the borders are so confused. If you would stop a man on the jungle trail and say, "Who are you?" meaning are you Burmese, Chinese, or Thai, he would say, "I am of the village of Ben Suc," or something similar. If you kept pushing him he might say he was of a certain dialect or a certain region, and finally say, "Oh, I know what you mean; I'm Burmese." But it would take about fifteen minutes for him to get around to that.

This village culture is changing very rapidly now, and you must have an image of these teeming millions of Asia, Africa, and Middle East, awakening, searching for a higher identification, reaching out to a newer, broader identity—the identity of nationalism. The one motive of nationalism is anticolonialism. Most of them have either experienced colonialism or the form of it that China and Thailand got, sort of a gunboat colonialism, even though a colonial regime did not actually take over. It was humiliating in the deepest psychological sense. I could give you examples, but in the interest of time let me say that they know that colonialism is dead. They now talk in terms of neocolonialism, and they fear it. They fear that somehow indirect controls will be reimposed to replace the direct controls of colonialism.

A second characteristic, I think, is that these people are in what I would call an identity crisis. Who are they? What does it mean to be Vietnamese or Filipino? Many people tend to think that Vietnam is only in a struggle between Communists and anti-Communists. Actually, it is a struggle between several different factions who are attempting to seize the power to be the ones to define what it is to be Vietnamese. And it is difficult. There are psychological

problems. Take the Philippines, a nation of thirty-five million people ethnically homogenous. Most of them are of the Malayan race. Because of the occupation of the Spanish for three hundred years, they are religiously homogenous—Roman Catholic. Yet within that archipelago are spoken some eighty-seven mutually unintelligible languages and dialects. They must conduct their national business in their congress in English, the language of the colonial power, which is already a psychological humiliation. Even the name of the country, for a people searching for a new nationalism, is somewhat humiliating. Instead of harking back to some ancient England or France, or something like that, the name is the Philippines, pawns of King Philip of Spain.

A third characteristic is a fierce desire to modernize. That does not mean a higher standard of living, which they would reject on the grounds of materialism. They do not want a T.V. set in every bedroom and two cars in every garage. They want steel mills, jet aircraft, transportation systems, all the things that make a nation strong and powerful. Mao Tse-tung does not speak for these people, but he said something about his own country, China, that I think strikes a responsive chord in their hearts. He said China has stood up with the image of a giant struggling to its feet from the gutter to look other nations—including the Soviet Union as well as the United States—level in the eye. That is what these people want to do.

Finally, they are fiercely determined to be masters of their own fate. They are fiercely determined to make the decisions about their future, about what happens in their region, and to have a voice in world affairs, to have a hand on the steering wheel of this planet. I think this is going to happen. I think this is the way to the future. I do not think we even ought to try to make sure that it is done on an American model. It certainly will not be done on the Communist model; it will be done on some model that is peculiarly their own. And in that case I think that it should be done with our sympathy and understanding rather than over our dead bodies.

Now let me say, in my judgment, that almost everything that is going to happen in international politics in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East for as long as anyone in this room is still on this planet will revolve around these nationalisms. The implications are profound and pervasive.

As an illustration, Dean Rusk and Lyndon Johnson turned Vietnam into an American war, made it an American war by bombing North Vietnam and sending American troops because they felt that it was a domino, that is, that all these countries of Southeast Asia were vulnerable to native guerrilla Communist movements. Of course, they are all vulnerable to an invasion by China, but that is not what was meant by dominoes. They meant that they were vulnerable to an internal, domestic, native guerrilla Communist movement. In the 1940s and the early 1950s they were new governments, newly emerging from colonialism, weak in experience. But believe me, they are no longer. This was unfortunately a lag. They ceased to be dominoes. Now we may create dominoes by our invasions of places like Cambodia, but there are no dominoes in Southeast Asia if left to themselves. Indonesia, for instance, had the largest Communist party of any country outside the Communist world in 1965—two million members. The Communists were so ill-advised as to attempt a coup d'état. The Moslem peasants and the soldiers in the army rose up and killed, according to official CIA sources, over 300,000 members of the Communist party within a matter of a few weeks. The Australians that I've talked to who were there at the time say that it is really a much higher figure. They estimate nearly a million. The point is that it took no American soldiers to do this, and the reason was that the Indonesian peasant had identified communism with a foreign power, i.e., with China, and it was the foreigners they were fighting against.

We have discussed the emerging nationalisms, and I think this is the key to Vietnam. Many of us thought that Vietnam was a simple Communist aggression. Certainly Lyndon Johnson did and Dean Rusk did. Well, it was a Communist aggression. The north armed guerrillas and trained them. They were directed by Hanoi. But it was considerably more than simple Communist aggression. It was, in fact, an anticolonial movement feeding on social discontent, the need for land reform, feeding on frustrated nationalism, whose leaders by an accident of history were Communists. The accident of history is that the French, in what was probably the most monumental stupidity in post-World War II times, attempted to reimpose colonialism when any high school kid knew that colonialism was dead. As a consequence, the

peasants of Vietnam looked around for an independent party, a political party that would fight the French, and it happened that the only party around was the Communist. We are seeing here what I think is a unique phenomena, that is, the last Asian nation in which communism captured the leadership of nationalism.

Against this background, if we are not fighting communism in Vietnam, but rather nationalism, then it is understandable why military force is not really effective. We have bombed North and South Vietnam since 1965 and we have dumped more bombs on North and South Vietnam than were dumped on both Japan and Germany throughout World War II. It hurt the North Vietnamese a great deal, but it was not decisive; it did not end the war. We also sent in 500,000 American troops to supplement approximately a million South Vietnamese troops. The military side in a very narrow military sense has been a great success. The American soldiers there have performed superbly and bravely. They have been well led by their officers. The logistics have probably been the most magnificent and efficient in the history of the world. In narrow military terms it has been a victory. For every American or South Vietnamese killed there have been somewhere between five and ten North Vietnamese Viet Cong killed.

All this, however, happens to be irrelevant. The authority I like to quote at this point is one of our greatest soldier-statesmen, General Matthew Ridgeway, who opposed the American intervention in 1964 in Vietnam and has opposed it ever since. He quite correctly said that it would not work, that we were using military force for a goal to which military force was not suited—that of changing people's minds, of destroying communism as a political force in South Vietnam. And as General Ridgeway said, you can destroy people, you can kill all the Vietnamese in the world, but you cannot change their minds with military force. To do that, you would have to kill every eighteen-year-old class for eighteen years. It just would not work for this particular goal.

If you want a vivid illustration, ask yourself this: We have had some troubles in this country—the riots in Watts, the riots of Chicago, the notorious riot at Columbia University a few years ago. What if the President of the United States went to the Prime Minister of Germany or the Prime

Minister of Japan and said, send 500,000 German troops or Japanese troops over here to put down the riots in our cities. I would suspect that hawks, doves, Democrats, Republicans, blacks, whites, every faction of society would take to the streets to fight the foreigner. When a Vietnamese peasant looks at black and white American faces and also sees his village bombed or shelled, what does he think? These people get hurt in wars. Generally speaking, what he seems to think is that the Communist side must be right. The Americans must be trying to reimpose colonialism. So for every Viet Cong you kill, you recruit two or three for the Viet Cong. The CIA tells me, as of last week, that the political organization, the political infra-structure of the Communists is intact in the villages of South Vietnam. We have broken up the main force units, but the political structure is intact. This means that the structure for recruiting, organizing, and training is there.

Against this background, Mr. Nixon's policy of Vietnamization is a vast improvement over Lyndon Johnson's policy of escalation, but it does not go far enough. It is not a decision to end the war; it is a decision to continue the war with Vietnamese ground forces and American air forces. This means that the time will be stretched out in which something can go wrong that might bring Communist China in. It means that five hundred or so Americans who are prisoners in North Vietnam will spend the rest of their lives in a Communist prison camp. They will never be released so long as there are American troops in South Vietnam. The only way to get them out is through a negotiated settlement. I think it commits us and puts the great United States in the pocket of two comic opera generals—Thieu and Ky. The great United States becomes the puppet of two people who do not even have the support of their own people, who are supported by no more than about ten percent—landlords and Catholics, but not the Buddhists nor the bulk of the population.

Such a policy neglects the true American interest, which is not whether South Vietnam is governed by a Communist government or by a coalition government that includes the Communists. We have certainly tolerated a country of similar size ninety miles from our coast, and it hasn't noticeably hurt the United States. I'm thinking of Cuba. What does

affect the American interest is the whole of Southeast Asia. American interests would be served by a neutralized, stabilized, Southeast Asia. It happens that we can get this. The Communist side in Paris is offering this for cold-blooded, realistic reasons. Because of the Sino-Soviet dispute, North Vietnam and the Soviet Union are frightened of a Southeast Asia dominated by Communist China. It happens that cold-bloodedly, hardheadedly, realistically, not through any sentiment, the Soviets and Hanoi would like to see a negotiated, neutralized, Southeast Asia. We can't hope to make Southeast Asia a bastion of anticommunism. It would cost millions of American lives because we would have to fight the Chinese. What we can hope for is a neutralized Southeast Asia. It is in our interest that Southeast Asia not be dominated by Communist China. There are here the elements of a deal. The North Vietnamese have told Averell Harriman at Paris that they are frightend, they want to make a deal, they want to exchange ambassadors with the western countries. They say, look, we fought the French, not just for ten years, we fought them for ninety years; but now we have friendly relations with the French. We are not doing this out of sentimental reasons, but because we need somebody to balance the Chinese. We would like to have friendly relations with the United States.

Let me say in the end that I think that Mr. Nixon is making a mistake in not permitting our ambassador to negotiate this deal that is being offered. I think that not because I trust the Communists. I don't trust them for a moment. But you can trust their self-interests. You can trust the political pressures working on them even if you cannot trust them. So I say that Nixon has not gone far enough because he is refusing, turning his back on, a settlement that would be in the American interest.

The People's Republic: Communist or Chinese?

JOHN K. FAIRBANK*

Ladies and gentlemen, I was here twenty years ago. I stopped in Provo in 1951, and this University was smaller, and you were not here. Coming back now after twenty years, it's simply fantastic what has been accomplished. I've known Paul Hyer for a long time, and we're two of a kind. I recognize a kindred spirit. He's one of the people who has built up the Asian Studies activity on this campus, which of course has a great future anywhere in this country, just as Asia has a future on our horizon as a people. So it is a great pleasure for me to be here and see Mr. Hyer in his native haunt. I don't know whether you know how much he has done, but he and others with him have put this University on the map in Asian Studies.

Now the topic announced, *The People's Republic: Communist or Chinese?* used to be something that you would have to wrestle with, but fortunately now it's fairly easy to deal with that topic. It can be said that the People's Republic is Chinese; there's no question about that. It is also some kind of a Communist state, but you can't tell exactly what kind except that it is Chinese Communist. The Communist world is so fragmented—it is all broken up. The situation we had in the 1950s of feeling we were up against a monolithic, implacable international organization has now largely evaporated. We see the Russians and the Chinese lined up against each other, and other kinds of Communists disagreeing with other kinds of Communists. Communism has practically ceased to be a meaningful term. You have to speak of some kind, some

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part, some aspect, such as national communism. And then, when you look at the term *communism* in each national case it takes on various meanings. In a sense communism has become a nonword.

Now let's look at Communist China, or the People's Republic, as Mr. Nixon now calls it. It has been there for twenty years as the People's Republic. First we called it Red China, then we called it Communist China, and then we called it Mainland China, sort of deflating the amount of feeling that we had about it. Now Mr. Nixon calls it the People's Republic.

First let's look at Communist China in a context of the world situation, which, instead of an idealogical worldwide conflict between two great camps, now seems to be characterized much more by power politics between great nations, great peoples. The Japanese are expanding so rapidly in economics that they may overtake the Russians. The Russians comprise such an enormous country. We ourselves have an enormous capacity. The Chinese are a great and powerful people. Western Europe represents another more unified but important grouping. So today, we're thrown less into idealogical warfare and more into the conflicts of power politics. But these are different than they used to be. They are not just between rulers and diplomats; they're between peoples, whole peoples, who are excited and concerned about their national interests, as they call them.

We have to recognize that the idea of national interest is also a rather backward idea, because there's very little national interest that doesn't move over into human interest. You take the American national interest in not getting destroyed. It's a common interest of mankind. It's difficult for us to destroy the rest of mankind and not be destroyed ourselves or for other parts of mankind to destroy us without getting destroyed themselves. We're all in the same boat, and the idea of national interest is therefore no longer a sacred final answer to anything; you really have to consider the world interest. The question is, can mankind survive together? We know we can go to the moon, but we're not sure we can stay here on earth.

In this situation there's another theme that must be a part of our discussion of China, and that is looking at ourselves. Here we are, with our tremendous capacities, seemingly in the

grip of technology and in the grip of institutions that are using technology. Here we are fighting a war, most of the public not sure why we are there, and the national policy is now to get out, to try to stop this war, because we're not sure that it's still essential. It seems to have gone too far somehow. We got in there and never stopped, and it wasn't something we could win. In other words, we're up against one of the great technological facts—war nowadays has to be limited war. Wars that you can win by an all-out victory are no longer feasible. Great powers get lined up on either side and can only win by destroying themselves. In other words, it's quite plain that we cannot knock out the Russians; the Russians cannot knock us out, without mutual annihilation; and consequently limited war is imposed upon the military. It's a grievous burden for them, and, in some ways, you have to sympathize with the military who have been trained to carry out their mission of winning victories if possble. Now they find that their mission is to fight but not to win a victory because there's no win possible. Technology has fixed that and put us in a new age.

That is part of our context. Americans are finding that technology sometimes offers things that do not seem as progressive as they used to be. Consider the SST that people are debating. You make a big investment because it will go faster than anything else. What good is it? You can even argue about going to the moon. We got there, and it was a tremendous feat. It shows what you can do. What good was it? So we feel that we're in the grip of a technology which is no longer the answer to everything. You've got to consider how you use your technology, and you have to place some limitations on how you use it. You can't just go all out for progress technologically.

It's fortunate that we can talk about our relations with China in a community here that has had missionary experience because missionary experience has been a large part of our experience with the Chinese people. You are not the normal American audience. This is a group of people who have a special background, a special competence to look at this problem of American relations with other peoples because much of our contact with China has been through missions. Much of our contact with East Asia, of course, still is.

With this context in mind, how should we view the Chinese Revolution? I propose to offer you a series of points and then perhaps we will have time for questions and answers. This great Chinese revolution of the twentieth century, of course, has many new things in it. Any revolution does, but it also has much of the old elements of continuity. This is only natural in the case of China for a number of reasons. You cannot expect China to become new overnight. In the first place the size of the country and the number of people are so great that you cannot reach them with new things very rapidly. Most people go along day by day habituated. Most of national life in China also continues to be habituated. Then they also have the Chinese language separating them from the rest of the world. Anything that goes into China, to be intelligible there, has to be translated into Chinese. It is different from our European languages. Of course, it's true all around the world that you can have linguistic hangups and problems with translation, but in China when you're going into an ideographic writing system, the characters already have set meanings, and you have to give them a new meaning. You have to make a new phrase, perhaps, with old characters. You don't add to the number of characters; you're still using old characters that have old meanings attached to them. You're putting a new meaning on them which comes by definition of the new thing you're talking about. Well, this has a certain slippage in it, and even if you bring in a new term, it really isn't new to the uninitiated person in China. So the transmission of ideas from the outside into China is not as easy as it is in some countries, and that's another factor for inertia or continuity.

Then there is Chinese pride. The Chinese people, after all, have always been a superior people in their part of the world. For a couple of thousand years they were the center of civilization. They have a national pride and sense of identity which is, if anything, greater than ours, and a degree of self-confidence—happiness in being Chinese—which is probably greater than ours. We know that we are a mixture of everything, and everybody here came from somewhere else through his ancestors. Except for the American Indians who may be among us (an honored remnant that we haven't quite destroyed), everybody here is an immigrant's descendant. In China it is just the opposite. Practically everybody there has

an ancestor going back to Confucius. The Chinese have not migrated around the world the way the westerners have in coming to a new continent. All these facts make the element of continuity in their revolution much greater than you might expect if you're just looking at it as an American.

Take a look at the Chinese scene today. Suppose you're flying over the country. We used to be able to do that, and I suppose our spy satellites go over now and get pictures of it. What do you see? Of course, here the terrain is mostly mountainous and only about a fifth cultivable; yet the population is four times as big as our country's, and that means very intensive cultivation in the areas that can be cultivated. You look down on this kind of region, and you find little clusters of trees every quarter or half mile, scattered over the landscape, something like going across Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, or Ohio farms. China is a land of villages. Instead of a farm family, of course, you have a whole village of maybe five hundred people because the land is very heavily cultivated and heavily populated. You will notice something about the configuration of these villages. There is a market center, a bigger town, surrounded usually by a half dozen villages. All these little villages are hamlets where the people live, from which they communicate with the "market town." This is the real urban unit in which the Chinese peasant has always lived. It is a community the size of the distance you can travel carrying something easily going and coming back in the same day. You can't go more than about five miles with any comfort to get into your market town, and then after you've made your trade, or whatever you came for, you come back, walking probably, or maybe on a donkey or on a little sampan, if you have a waterway. You go and come to the market center from your little hamlet where the peasantry are living among their fields.

That's the unit in which the Chinese people have lived. If you look at it today, of course, it will probably be called a commune. It will have one of the Communist terms applied to it. Actually, it has always been something of a unit. The Chinese farmer just didn't stay in his little hamlet of fifty or one hundred families in one little place; he was in touch with this market center. Somebody from the family would go to the market, which was held every few days in the market town, and so the community might be 5,000 to 7,500 people. You

would know friends in other towns, other villages, through the market center. If you are going to arrange a marriage in your family, you might go to the market town and find a matchmaker and a bride from some other village. So this is a social unit as well as an economic unit, and this is where the Chinese have their livelihood. It's a self-sufficient unit on the whole; it tries to make what is consumes. The trade that comes into the market town from other parts of the country consists of certain essential things like ceramics, which you may not make at home, or silk if you're not in the silk-producing area. That this is a very self-sufficient unit explains why it has taken so long for the Chinese people to be drawn into a market economy trading overseas, or even a national market. They have lived pretty much to themselves. They have worked it out; they do not have to have all the contacts that we are accustomed to in our society.

Aside from their self-sufficiency, there is another characteristic of the Chinese scene that keeps going today. Those villages are still there. With houses that were built two, three, or four centuries ago, and have been repaired ever since, they haven't remade their society in its material aspects. The remaking is more in what you call the social organization.

There is another thing in addition to this social scene that you look at in imagination. That's the tradition of the ruling class. This is something that we have to think about in order to understand because we don't have it in our own tradition. Of course we know about an aristocracy in the old days of Europe and the feudal age. But in fact, the Chinese have had a ruling class throughout their history. It's been very hard for them to get away from it. In fact, they're still struggling with this problem. The ruling class in the old China was the most stable kind of leadership group you can possibly imagine because it was flexible. It always took in talented peasants. Anybody who was very good could rise into the ruling class. But on the whole, the peasantry continued as peasants, and only a few would make it into the ruling class. The ruling class would try to reproduce its kind, and some would drop out into peasant status because they weren't good enough to stay with it. But on the whole, the tradition of the ruling class persisted. This is the chief thing that the Chinese revolution has been against.

You can see how this ruling class operated if you go back into historical studies. The ruling class, after all, came from the fact that you had an enormous country. It had a central government after 221 B.C. which was trying to maintain peace over the whole area; and peace, of course, is the thing you want. You want a unified China so you don't have warfare, and you can go ahead without disaster. The ruling class were, first of all, the people that functioned in the government, but the government never extended down very far. There was a local ruling class, a local elite. This consisted, for the most part, of people who owned land, people who had official connections, people who had literacy, people who had studied enough so they could rise in the scholar class. This combination of owning some land, having contact with officials, and perhaps producing sons who could become scholars and take examinations, produced a sort of a three-point, three-based ruling group. They had an economic base in landlordism, they had an intellectual base in scholarship, and they had a political base in office holding. Put all this together, and you've got a very stable structure. They can take in any talent they can find, and they did so through the examination system, but they can also maintain themselves and maintain the tradition. It's the ruling class that has run the country.

Now, that means that when you come down to modern times the ruling class becomes a barrier to progress. I think if you analyze the Chinese revolution of the last century, you see that it's a long, drawn-out process by which the ruling class system has been overthrown. One of the great questions in the cultural revolution of the last few years has been whether Mao was correct that a new ruling class was trying to arise—a new bureaucracy. You can imagine it certainly was trying to arise. People still had this old idea in mind. Why not? I'm afraid the cultural revolution, in its rather vain attempt to get rid of the ruling class idea, did not succeed. As far as we can tell from the outside, China still has this tradition to battle with, because it is in conflict with modern potentiality.

Now, let's look at what the old ruling class wanted to do; the way it tried to preserve Chinese culture. The main object of the old ruling class was to maintain social stability, to keep things going without too violent a change, to prevent re-

bellion. And for that purpose, the members of the local elite, the local families that were in positions of responsibility, would try all sorts of things to check rebellion. They would set up soup kitchens if there was a famine. They would try to get food to the poor. If there were rebel or bandit forces, they would arm and train some peasants as a fighting force to try to deal with them. If there were people that needed some relief, they would get help when the system was working right, and in the meantime the local elite would take care of local problems. They would build some bridges, repair the local temples, and try to keep society operating.

This was the ruling class ethos of responsibility—to keep society going, keep it stable. Part of this was a stay-at-home philosophy. You stayed in your local region and did your duty to the principles of Confusianism. I think probably you can understand this old ruling class best if you just look at the traditional principles of Confucianism. This was probably the greatest philosophy in numbers of people in an organized state that has ever been seen. Confucianism was the basic system by which government was operated. The Confusian principles are first that everybody has a place, but it is not equal. People are in different places according to their birth and circumstances. A wife is subordinate to her husband, women to men. This is the nature of things, or it used to be. The younger are subordinated to the older. You begin with babies, of course. The parents are superior to the children and the Chinese parents were able to figure it out so they could stay that way; so respect for age and for parents is a basic feature of the old Confucian teaching. In general, everybody had a status and he should behave according to his status. If you were a son you should be obedient to your father. You didn't talk back to your father. If your father said "Do this," you did it without grumbling because you were lucky you were born. He was the source of your being, and you might as well say yes and go do it. In fact the old legal system was set up in such a way that the father had absolute authority. Any son who struck his father could be decapitated, no question about it. Striking his father was the worst thing he could possibly do. On the other hand, if the son was disobedient and the father had to strike him, and maybe kill him, that could be condoned because he should have been a more

obedient son. In other words, the legal system and punishment for things that happened were all set up to maintain this system of status and proper behavior according to status.

Confucianism is an enormous system with many philosophical principles, but it all adds up to the idea of maintaining a society with everybody doing his part according to his duty. You can see this is not individualistic, and this is one feature of the old China and the old ruling class. It's a feature that comes over to the present day.

There's one further thing to say about this old order, and you can see the continuity of this into the revolution. In the the nineteenth century when the westerners came in, they became part of the ruling class. They couldn't help it; China was a ruling-class country. If you came in and demanded your privileges, as the westerners did, you were treated as a member of the ruling class. But, as in the Opium War, the privileges of traveling around and trading were enforced with gunboats. If you did that, you were inevitably part of the ruling class. You were people of literacy from abroad, to be sure, but no more foreign than the Mongols had been when they conquered China in the thirteenth century. And so the nineteenth century invasion by the West brought us into the scene. And we regarded it, of course, as a great adventure to go abroad, to do great things in China and to study the country. The Chinese regarded us as a latter-day version of the Mongol invasions from inner Asia. These Mongols had been able to fight better than the Chinese so they came in and conquered. Others had done it too. The Manchus did it again in the seventeenth century when they took over the government. All of these ruling groups from outside were taken into the Chinese ruling class and made part of it and functioned in it. And that's what happened with us.

So in the nineteenth century the western missionary who came into China found that he was an upper-class fellow. He couldn't help it; he had his special privileges. The officials couldn't arrest him because he had his foreign consul as protection. He was a scholar because he was literate; he had his own teaching, and in general he had a higher living standard and was part of the ruling class. If you keep that in mind, you can see what the basis is for the modern Chinese revolution to attack the foreigner. If they were getting rid of the

ruling class in general, they were also getting rid of the foreigner. They call it imperialism, a Marxist term which means somebody who muscled his way in. And that's where we come into the sights of the revolution. They're against us.

Now let's look briefly at the process of revolution. I mentioned these elements of continuity that you can see in it. Before we get into questions, let me try to bring out some highlights of the revolutionary process that have wound up with Chairman Mao today. I've said this is a revolution against a ruling class. On the whole the process has been one of bringing the Chinese common man up to the ruling class level. Instead of being just a peasant who by definition is a farmer without any politics, pays his taxes when he has to, and doesn't think about who's going to do what in running things (he's supposed to have no political ideas) instead of that, the revolution has brought the organization and mobilization of the peasantry. It has brought the masses of the Chinese people into political light and out onto the street, demonstrating, waving around, participating and acting in politics.

This is, I should say, part of the technological process of modern times. You've seen this in other countries too. As soon as literacy can be spread more easily, as soon as communication can reach anybody through radio (and transistor radio, of course, is a tremendous spreader of things), then you're in for it. The whole populace is going to participate. Now we're accustomed to that in this country. We got over this hurdle some time ago, and everybody in this country is quite aware of the idea. Anyone can write a letter to the editor, or he can sound off in some way, just marching down the street making noises if he wants to. As a matter of fact, a lot of people are now doing just that. In China it is a new idea. It's something that the old ruling class was very careful to prevent, because they knew it could get out of hand. In the old days under the last dynasty down to 1912, even officials who had policy ideas were supposed to give them only to their superiors. They were not to spread them around and not to discuss them even with each other. The public was not supposed to have any policy ideas. If the public couldn't stand it any longer, they could get out and rebel, and then if possible you'd suppress them, separate the leaders from the fol-

lowers at least, and kill off the leaders to discourage the followers.

So the modern process of the people coming into this kind of political life has been a pretty rough one. It has been violent in process because the old guard, trained to the idea that the peasant should remain on his field and do his work there and not fiddle around with policy, naturally took a dim view of all this organization.

This is where Chairman Mao comes into the picture. You can take him as a symbol of the whole process. Of course, he's only the front man who has been shoved up by the historical necessity for one leader at the top in the old Chinese tradition, but he can be somewhat typical of the process. In the first place, he can only come at a certain time. He emerges in the period of the First World War. It's a time in 1911-1914, when China has lost its monarchy and the old system with the emperor at the top. That revolution knocked off the monarchy which had been the kingpin of the social structure. The pyramid of power and status began to crack. They couldn't maintain it without the emperor. At the same time the ideas that upheld it began to crack because Confucianism could no longer be accepted in the modern world.

When Sun Yat-sen appeared on the scene back in the 1890s, he was at an earlier stage. He was against the Manchu dynasty, and he was trying to knock out the emperor system, the Manchus, and the foreign rulers of China. His main concern was national unity and getting rid of the monarchy. Before he died in the 1920s he also got the idea of opposing the privileges of the imperialist powers in China. But he never got the point of really organizing the people at the grass roots. He was too early for that. Mao Tse-Tung got onto it as an idea after the dynasty had disappeared, when the western example was somewhat tarnished from World War I and when the Soviet revolution of 1917 had begun to bring in ideas.

Mao came to maturity about 1919 just when the Communist party was being organized. You can see, however, if you look at his personal career, how he became a leader. Mao was a boy from a peasant family. His father had worked hard and was a pretty tough fellow who pushed others around, a sort of rich peasant. Mao fought with him. His father seemed to him a pretty inhuman fellow. Mao rebelled against his

father and in that period he could do it and get away with it. Still he had to work on the farm, and so he got his education rather late. By the time Mao was able to go to school and get up to the middle or high school level, he was older than the other students. He was big, a leader, and a rebel. He finally got his education in his twenties. Having a very rigorous mind, he read everything he could find and eventually became a teacher.

At the same time, the Soviet model of how to organize for revolution was coming in. He picked it up and was one of the organizers of the Chinese Communist party. Even so, he never had Soviet training. He never went to Moscow for indoctrination. He was never subordinated to the party system fully. He was always a leader, and by staying on the top, he could remain himself, quite independent of the party structure. As it turned out, in recent years, he's been able to denounce the party and turn against it, which very few of these people trained by the party would have done.

As the Chinese revolution emerged and Mao began to rise, they developed several of their own particular characteristics. One was that in China, in order to organize the people, you could not confine your work to the city. In order to get a real base of organization in China, you had to go to the countryside where most of the people lived. That is quite different from this country, or even the Soviet Union, where the cities are great centers of power and population. Organizing in China means organizing peasants. So immediately Mao, having picked up Marxism, began to change it. He found that peasants were the people to organize, and according to Marxism, you don't begin that way. You begin with the so-called proletarians.

Another feature of this, of course, was the glorification of the Communist Chinese party. In the proper Leninist fashion, it was the group that was trying to carry on this great task of revolution according to the insights and vision of Marx and Lenin. This means that people put great faith in the Chinese Communist party. It is the great repository of your belief; you think that it can bring about the revolution. It can carry us through because the party knows that any individual, of course, can be fallible. The leadership will change, and you yourself may be sacrificed in the cause of the party, but the

party will go on. So there's great faith in the party as the agent of the revolution. This feature was obvious to us in the 1940s when some of us were working under the embassy in Chungking and saw Communist representatives there. Chou En-lai had his office in Chungking. Talking to these people, you knew that when their eyes shone about the Chinese Communist party that it was the object of their faith. Mao grew up with that, and his break with the Chinese Communist party, his turning on it to try to purge it, reform it of its evils in the recent culture revolution, has been a very serious breakdown in the system. The revolution is still probably recovering from that. It has to heal over that wound.

Mao is an example of how the Chinese revolution has deviated from a Leninist norm. It has used the Leninist system but found that it had to be changed to suit the Chinese case. It's no longer a Soviet system; it's a Chinese system today.

One thing that's worth noting when you go over the history of the revolution is the question of Chinese expansion. Just a few days ago Mr. Nixon was talking about Chinese expansionist tendencies. This bears examination, in fact, requires it. If you look back at Chinese history, one thing is quite striking, and that is that the Chinese lived in their settled, cultivated areas in inner Asia and Southeast Asia inside the great wall and were constantly up against the raids and invasions of people from outside the great wall such as the Mongols. These cavalries could come in through the wall and terrorize the settled farm land. So from a very early date the Chinese problem became a defensive one. How do you ward off these attackers who come in with their cavalry from the grasslands of Mongolia? The Chinese military tradition began in this defensive style. Of course, one way to defend is to attack. You can go out there and send an expedition into Mongolia and try to catch these fellows or try to split them up or try to seize the leaders, but you cannot stay out there indefinitely. There is no food supply out there. Any Chinese army going into Mongolia has to come back within a month or two. They could not occupy Mongolia and cultivate it. There is no rain supply. It's just there and you can't do a thing about it. No Chinese wanted to go out and live there. They didn't want to become Mongols and ride horses all the time.

This source of invaders remained an insoluble problem,

and the Chinese military tradition became heavily defensive. You build a great wall and you bribe them, buy them off or maybe give them a princess in exchange for peace. When you can't do anything, then they come in and conquer you, and you deal with them. Since you outnumber them, they can't run China—they don't understand the Chinese language. Another way to deal with them is to collaborate. The Chinese learned all these different devices from hard experience over hundreds of years. Their military tradition was largely defensive.

Secondly, they have had no naval power. The Chinese were living on a continental area. If you went by sea, where were you going? There was nowhere to go. Japan was not there in ancient times; trade around India was too far distant and not very fruitful. The Chinese had little incentive to trade. They stayed at home; they had everything they needed. After all, the country extends farther north to south than our country—from the latitude of Havana to that of Newfoundland—and you get furs in the north and sugar in the south with everything else in between. The Chinese had little need for foreign trade. That is another reason for their nonexpansive tradition. They did not develop naval power to go overseas; therefore, they never developed any colonies. It's an amazing thing that the colonies in Southeast Asia are right next door to China, but they are European colonies. Now how could that be? It's because the Chinese weren't interested. They had everything they needed at home; they were the center of things.

You can understand the modern world, in other words, if you look at the Europeans as "have-nots." The Europeans lived off there in Europe, which was a wonderful place to get out of in the wintertime, and they raised no sugar or cotton in Europe, and sugar and cotton are two basic staples. They did develop a lot of searfaring around their peninsulas, in the North Sea and in the Mediterranean. So when the Europeans began to expand, they were getting riches abroad. They came to Asia to get what Asia had to offer. Asia was a richer area, a bigger area. The Europeans became dynamic and expansive fighting men.

Until very recently they conquered these colonies in Southeast Asia right next door to China. The Chinese did not bother.

There is one other thing to crank into this picture for perspective. We must realize that the Chinese, for the first thousand years of the Christian era, were probably ahead of western civilization. We judge this by their inventions. Western civilization in Europe, of course, we esteem as the source of all great things that came later. Now this point is in need of some rectification. Take paper for example. Without paper how could you operate? We wouldn't have a university, certainly. The Chinese invented paper many hundreds of years before paper got to Europe. The Europeans were slow to pick it up. The Chinese also invented printing, which took about a thousand years to get into Europe. Printing by movable type was also invented in the Far East and moved to Europe by degrees several hundred years later.

Those are not exceptional, those are just examples. There are many other things. You take a simple matter of nautical technology. How do you steer a ship? You steer a ship with a rudder, and without one you are not going to do much steering. The Europeans for many hundreds of years steered their ships with a sweep oar at the back because their ships were made with prows that went up at either end like the Viking ships. Steering with an oar at the back, of course, is no way to run a ship. The Chinese invented the stern post rudder. We have an example from Canton in the first century A.D. Here's a ship made in compartments (another Chinese invention) with big ports across and a square stern, and on this square stern is a rudder. The Chinese invented it. It didn't come to the West until a thousand years later. The Chinese also invented gunpowder, and used it in seige fighting. It was only when the Europeans got it that they, being more warlike, put it into more advanced weapons and took it back to China.

The Chinese examined little things like snow crystals. I have never examined one in a microscope, but a snow crystal is six-sided, I'm told. The Chinese knew this and had recorded it before the birth of Christ.You don't find any record of it in the West till a thousand years later. The Chinese also recorded sunspots, and the West didn't get on to that for a thousand years. They invented the compass, cast iron, the examination system—which we all suffer from here—but we didn't have it until the nineteenth century. There

were many political inventions in China. All of this means that they were a superior people in their earlier days, and there is the basis for their national pride and sense of identity.

But out of all this they did not become expansionists, and their tradition is not an expansive one.

North Korea: Between Dogmatism and Revisionism

CHONG-SIK LEE*

One of the toughest problems Premier Kim Il-song of North Korea had to face during his quarter-century-old rule over North Korea has been the cleavage between Peking and Moscow. There is a Korean adage which says "Shrimps get crushed when whales fight." And, indeed, the Red Whales have been locked in battle for quite some time, and the little red shrimp caught in between has had to find ways to fend for himself.

The problem was a tough one, particularly because North Korea needed the friendship of both the Soviet Union and Communist China in order to develop its economy, to maintain its defense forces, and to engage in the violent and nonviolent struggles against the Republic of Korea. The experience of the Korean War had clearly shown that the support of both Moscow and Peking was essential for North Korea. At that time, the Soviet Union provided the airplanes, tanks, artillery, and all the modern military hardware to launch the war; but it was Chinese manpower that eventually rescued North Korea from being completely overrun. The situation since then has changed considerably but not as much as the North Korean Communists would have liked.

The problem was very exasperating particularly because the Sino-Soviet rift dealt with many of the key issues. The dis-

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pute ranged over the ideology, strategy, and tactics of Communist revolution; the nature of leadership; and the relationship among the Communist countries. As points of contention gradually shifted from the more general to the specific, it became increasingly more difficult for North Korea to plaster over the issues. Tremendous pressure was exerted from both sides for North Korea to clarify its views, and therefore it could not muddle through the dispute. The price tag for taking a stand, however, was going to be high regardless of whom the North Koreans sided with.

In many ways, the situation confronting North Korea can be compared to a small ship attempting to navigate through a narrow river. Let us, for a moment, imagine a situation where China is occupying the left bank and Russia the right bank. We may call the river the River of Internationalism. When the relationship of the two countries bordering the river is amicable, the ship can progress rather smoothly, taking advantage of the facilities and supplies from both banks. But the ship cannot but be affected when the winds from both banks whip up storms over the river. And suppose the River of Internationalism begins to freeze?

Indeed, at times the River of Internationalism seems to be frozen over, and the frail ship has to anchor at either of the shores. Finding the atmosphere on the right bank hostile, the ship briefly takes refuge on the left bank. But the left bank cannot provide the needed supplies and parts, and hence the captain has to take his ship across the icy waters to the other shore, inescapably hearing the resentful muttering of his old host. When the ship's equilibrium has been restored, therefore, the captain tries again to steer through the ice to the left bank. Of course, the whole situation stalls the ship's progress, creating numerous problems. Having been promised a land of milk and honey, the crew has labored around the clock for a long period of time. At least some of the crew begin to doubt the captain's way of navigating. They may even attempt a mutiny.

Let us briefly look at the ship itself. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was officially launched in 1948, but its origin must be traced back to 1946 when the North Korean Provisional People's Committee was established. The North Korean regime, whatever its official designation may

be, was a by-product of the cold war, and it came into being under Soviet tutelage. The crew running the ship, the Korean Worker's party, is an outgrowth of the North Korean Bureau of the Korean Communist party established in October 1945. Of course, the history of Korean communism goes back to 1918, but the movement was largely ineffectual before 1945 and the Communists could not have taken over control in North Korea without Soviet support. The captain of the ship, or the leader of the North Korean regime, Kim Il-song, was installed in his office soon after the Soviet army occupied North Korea in October 1945. Although he had led a small band of anti-Japanese guerillas in southeastern Manchuria between 1931 and 1941 when he was still in his twenties, Kim Il-song was much too young to take over the leadership position in North Korea without Soviet blessing.

All this is to say that the ship, the crew, and the captain were made by the Russians, according to Russian designs. Up to 1950, when the Korean War broke out and the Chinese poured massive manpower into Korea, no one had any doubt as to who was in actual control in North Korea. Kim Il-song may have been at the helm, but he was following a course charted by Moscow and under the latter's close supervision.

The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic and her intervention in the Korean War changed matters considerably. The Russians, for example, had to share control of military strategy with the Chinese and, as the war dragged on, authority had to be shared in broader areas. This situation gave the North Koreans an opportunity to assert themselves more. The reluctance of the Russians to commit themselves deeply to the cause of the Koreans must also have led the Korean Communists to think more for themselves. It is possible that certain undercurrents of thought toward self-determination and independence emerged among the leaders in Pyongyang. Kim Il-song was not strong enough to defy or even disagree with the Soviet "advisers" and leaders, but he could not have been pleased by the lukewarm way in which the Russians handled themselves during the Korean War.

In the postwar years (by war, I mean here the Korean War), when North Korea went about the task of reconstructing its economy, surface relations appeared cordial and friendly. But the North Korean Communists later charged, when

their relations with the Soviet Union were greatly aggravated, that the Russians interferred in economic planning, aspects of education, publications, and other internal matters. The Russians were also accused of buying certain commodities from North Korea at below the international market price and selling things to North Korea at relatively higher prices. North Koreans were tolerating the Russians, but they certainly had no love for the Russians. The Russians, of course, are not the only ones in the world that face this kind of situation. In any event, as the Korean Communists began to lose faith in the Russians, they started to urge the people to think more in Korean terms and learn more about their own country. It was in December 1955 that Kim Il-song introduced the term *"Chu-ch'e"* or self-identity. In fact the most accurate translation of *Chu-ch'e* would be "to do one's own thing." By 1956, with the end of the three-year economic plan, one could detect that Kim Il-song and his crew had come out of the tutelage and were heading toward self-determination, although they still badly needed Russian aid particularly in the economic and military areas. Although the Chinese began then to loom large in Korea, they appear to have been more judicious than the Russians in their behavior toward the Koreans. Despite the fact that Kim Il-song had spent approximately four years between 1941 and 1945 in Soviet territory, the "cultural gap" between the Koreans and the Russians was much wider than that between the Koreans and the Chinese. In addition to historical influences, Kim Il-song and some of his close associates were raised in Manchuria among the Chinese. Indeed, Kim Il-song was a member of the Chinese Communist party in his early days.

In any event, the role of the captain of the ship changed considerably between 1945 and 1956. By the latter date, he was no longer an apprentice taking orders from his tutor-master. The Russian tutor-master then became an adviser and occasional helper who assisted the ship's progress toward its destination. The captain's main concern or the announced destination was to build a "democratic base" in the North which would enable Korea's eventual reunification. Although the captain saw fit to purge some of the top crew members in 1950, 1953, 1956, and again in 1958, the ship was, on the whole, sailing smoothly toward that goal.

But the captain began to feel turbulence in the open channel around 1961 when he had just launched an ambitious seven-year economic plan. Strong winds began to blow from both directions, and eventually the channel began to freeze. The circumstances and the issues involved in the Sino-Soviet dispute are rather well known, and we need not dwell on the details. But we must briefly look into three major issues in the Sino-Soviet dispute that deeply concerned the Korean Communists, i.e., (1) the role of war in the socialist revolution, (2) de-Stalinization, and (3) the nature of international proletarianism.

As is well known, Khrushchev enunciated at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February 1956 the principle of peaceful coexistence. Although Lenin had taught that wars were inevitable so long as "imperialism" existed and that wars would inevitably lead to socialist victory, Khrushchev declared that war in the modern era would be unthinkable because nuclear war would destroy not only the capitalist societies but the socialist societies as well. Therefore, Khruschev called for "an improvement of relations, a strengthening of trust between countries and collaboration." The eventual victory of socialism-communism was predicted, but it would be attained not through wars but through peaceful competition.

The Chinese, of course, objected to this line of policy. The Chinese believed that the development of the sputnik and the ICBM placed the Soviet Union ahead of the West, and hence the Communists should exert more pressure against the United States on such issues as Taiwan. The Chinese obviously did not see the possibility of taking over Taiwan through peaceful means.

If the Chinese objected to the peaceful line because it hindered their aim of bringing Taiwan back into the fold, one can easily imagine the anguish of the Korean Communists. The North Korean Communists had all but "unified" Korea in 1950. Had not the "American imperialists" intervened, the Communists would have attained their dream. For the dream of communizing the entire country, the Communists had committed all their resources, but ended up with a disasterous defeat. It was simply impossible for the Korean Communists to accept Khrushchev's dictum to improve relations, strengthen trust, or collaborate with American "imperialists."

How the principle of peaceful coexistence tormented the Korean Communists could be seen from the way Premier Kim Il-song handled the problem. He was forced to declare that the principle of peaceful coexistence was "absolutely correct." But, on the other hand, he declared that "the idea that Korea could be separated into Northern and Southern parts and that the parts should coexist with each other is very dangerous; it is a view obstructing our efforts for unification." On another occasion, Kim Il-song derided those who advocated the toning down of strong anti-American slogans because the Soviet Union was relaxing her stand against the United States. The premier charged that this kind of advocacy not only had no common ground with revolutionary creativity, but also paralyzed "our people's revolutionary awareness." He twisted logic to say that North Korea's struggle against American imperialists was in harmony with Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence. He argued that North Korea's hawkish stand against the United States would soften the American imperialists and hence contribute to peace.

The fact that North Korea agreed with China on the question of war as a means of attaining Communist victory was clearly manifested in the sixties when North Korea threw off the mask and came out into the open. The following quotation taken from a joint statement of Liu Shao-chi and Ch'oe Yong-gon, the two heads of state, in 1963 is typical of North Korea's stand since then:

> The modern revisionists emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, paralyze the revolutionary will of the working class and working people, meet the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, and undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the revolutionary struggles of all peoples. They do not themselves oppose imperialism, and forbid others to oppose imperialism. They do not want revolution themselves and forbid others to make revolution.

The hawkish behavior of the Korean Communists is already widely known, and hence it will not be necessary for me to dwell on this subject. Suffice it to recall the Pueblo affair, the shooting down of an EC 191 U.S. plane, and the numerous incidents near the demarcation line culminating in the daring attack of a band of guerrillas on the presidential residence inside Seoul in January 1968. Since December 1962, when the

Korean Workers' party—which is in fact a Communist party—decided to turn the entire domain into a military fortress, North Korea has devoted a great proportion of its human and material resources to building up its military strength. So far, there is no sign that North Korea intends to relax its militant line of policy. Any attempt on the part of the United States and the Republic of Korea to reduce tension would be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Reduction of tension on the Korean peninsula will require considerable patience and skill on the part of those who desire such an outcome.

Khrushchev's sensational de-Stalinization campaign also affected the Korean Communists in a serious way. The Chinese Communists are alleged to have stated in their secret letter to the Soviet party dated September 10, 1960, that the "real difference" between themselves and Khrushchev began when Khrushchev denied Stalin's positive role without previous discussion with the other Communist parties. It is evident that Khrushchev did not consult the Korean Communists before his famous speech at the Twentieth Congress, and hence it is possible that this lack of prior consultation may have opened a gap between Moscow and Pyongyang. But being a smaller power, North Korea probably did not take as much offence at Khrushchev's manner of handling the affair as the Chinese leaders. The North Korean press did not report on Khrushchev's speech, nor did it comment upon it for some time to come. Only in November 1961 did the premier declare that "the problem of how to evaluate Stalin's activities in the USSR belongs to the category of intra-party problems of the CPSU."

The problem for Premier Kim Il-song, however, was that Khrushchev and many other "revisionists" throughout the world chose to extend the de-Stalinization campaign to other Communist societies and called for changes in the direction of increasing democratization and checks and balances on the exercise of absolute power. To make matters worse, there were elements in the North Korean leadership that echoed these sentiments and called for drastic changes within North Korea. This eventually led to a major, and unprecedented, revolt at a plenum of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' party in August 1956. And, according to our informants, the Russian ambassador in Pyongyang abetted the rebels!

Denunciation of a dead emperor, of course, is by no means unprecedented in Korean history, but these somewhat disloyal acts were always perpetrated for the benefit of those in power rather than with a view to overthrow the current regime. Obviously the premier could not sit idly by and let his enemies destroy him. He acted resolutely and pinned the sins of individual heroism, the root of the cult of personality, on his opponents disclaiming the fact that the cult of personality had ever existed in North Korea. The premier and his apologists argued that collective leadership had always been practiced in North Korea.

The fact of the matter, of course, is that ever since the Russians installed Kim Il-song at the helm of power in 1945, the North Korean Communists have steadily built a cult of personality around him, systematically destroying all his rivals as spies and running dogs of American imperialists. Mao Tse-tung may not have been a Stalinist, but there was no doubt about Kim Il-song.

The revolt of 1956 provided the occasion for Kim Il-song to carry out a massive campaign to purge all his opponents. All the party members, high and low, were rescreened, and any cadre who had had a remote connection with the purged leaders was thoroughly investigated. Massive indoctrination campaigns ensued to insure unmitigated loyalty to the personality of the premier. Histories were rewritten to sanctify his every act—real and imaginary. Every word he had ever uttered became the eternal truth, the mirror of unrivaled wisdom. For more than a decade since then the Korean Communists have continued an endless series of campaigns to adulate and even diefy the premier. Close scrutiny leads me to believe that the extent of the cult of personality in North Korea today exceeds that of Communist China. In North Korea today, Kim Il-song is the embodiment of the state, the nation, and the party. Was this heightening of the cult of personality in North Korea a reaction against Khrushchev's attempt to eliminate such a phenomenon? Or was this something the Korean Communists had intended even before the de-Stalinization campaign? Whatever the answers to these questions, we can be sure that Kim Il-song firmly disagreed with Khrushchev and the "revisionists" on the issue of the cult of personality.

One of the themes of the 1957 Moscow Declaration of the

Communist and Socialist parties stressed was the principle of "socialist internationalism." It said:

> The socialist countries base their relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interferrence in one another's affairs. These are vital principles. However, they do not exhaust the essense of relations between them. Fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations. This aid is a striking expression of socialist internationalism.

While Stalin was alive, the hierarchical relationship within the Communist camp was never questioned. The Soviet Union was unquestionably regarded as the fatherland of socialism, and the supremacy of Stalin was never in doubt. Questioning these relationships involved great risks. Particularly because the Korean Communists had been placed in power in North Korea by the Soviet occupation forces and because they depended greatly on Soviet support, North Korea's adulation of the Soviet Union was quite extreme.

The Korean Communists did talk of "Proletarian internationalism" before, but the meaning used to be quite different. For example, the May 1954 issue of the party organ, *Kulloja* (The Worker), carried an article "Proletarian Internationalism is the Banner of the Korean People's Life." But the key of the entire article is a quotation from Stalin who said, "Internationalists are those who are prepared to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally, without complaint, and without hesitation." Starting from there, the Korean author argues that true internationalists and true Communists must identify the love they have toward their own people and the fatherland with their love toward the Soviet Union, and that they must be boundlessly faithful to the Soviet Union. In an article published in 1955 entitled "Proletarian Internationalism and the Korean Revolution," however, the author stresses the aid from fraternal countries as the manifestation of internationalism. In 1958, the term internationalism was again redefined to mean the "unity, and strengthening of the socialist camp centered around the Soviet Union." Finally, an article published in the same journal in 1962 was entitled "Self-Reliance is the Basic Principle of Proletarian Internationalism."

Thus the party members and others in North Korea are constantly exhorted to espouse internationalism, but the mean-

ing of the term has changed drastically during the last eight years. At one time, the term was used to hold up "love" of the Soviet Union. After 1962, internationalism became a synonym for nationalism.

There were, of course, good reasons for these changes. Stalin died and was disgraced; China and other Communist countries began to rise and assert themselves. These countries, furthermore, disagreed among themselves on some of the more important issues. To make matters worse, Khrushchev attempted to dictate to his allies in too crude a manner. While preaching the virtue of collective leadership, he tended to brush off the opinions of leaders of other Communist societies. In the eyes of the Chinese, the Koreans, and some other Communists, Khrushchev was a "big-power chauvinist." It was natural for them to demand the recognition of equality, territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs.

The Korean Communists, of course, had been accustomed to Soviet control and supervision for quite some time. At the height of the quarrels with Moscow, Kim Il-song himself had revealed the extent of Soviet interference. The Russians, of course, had a hand in North Korean economic planning and allegedly criticized many aspects of the North Korean plans. The Russians also kept an eye on the content and manner of news reporting, insisting on publishing some of the Russian party materials in the North Korean party organs. They also had a hand in the instruction of the Russian language in the North Korean schools.

What angered Kim Il-song the most, however, was Khrushchev's support of some of the anti-Kim elements in 1956. I have already alluded to the 1956 revolt among the leading Communists in Pyongyang. It was true that Kim Il-song survived and that the anti-Kim elements were purged. Kim's opponents faced, of course, very big odds, but nonetheless the threat was real and formidable. The Russian support for these rivals, therefore, could not be easily forgiven or forgotten. But there was no sign that Khrushchev would change his tactics against those who disagreed with him. Although we do not know the details of the pressures exerted on Pyongyang before 1961, we do know that Khrushchev tried to drum out Albania and China from the Socialist camp in 1961. When North

Korean delegates appeared at various east European Communist gatherings, they were openly insulted. It was clear that North Korea would face the fate of Albania and China if she persisted in differing with Khrushchev. The choice given to Pyongyang by 1961 was either to conform or fight back.

Kim Il-song did decide to fight it out. In some respects, there was no choice. Having purged his opponents who took the Khrushchevian line, Kim Il-song could not very well turn around and submit to Khrushchev. Of course, on all three issues that concerned North Korea deeply, the Korean Communists agreed implicitly with the Chinese. So, beginning in 1961, Pyongyang issued statement after statement which did not differ very much from those emanating from Peking. Although Kim Il-song continued to warn against dogmatism as well as revisionism, there was no doubt that Moscow regarded the Korean Communists as the dogmatists.

It may have satisfied Kim Il-song's ego to denounce Khrushchev, assert his independence, and advocate a hawkish line, but the Korean Communists quickly learned that they were pitched against too powerful an opponent. The first element to suffer the consequence of the deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union was the North Korean defense structure. Even though North Korea did develop some defense industries, what they produced was obviously not adequate for modern warfare. North Korea was far from being able to produce MIGs, missiles, and other highly developed military hardware. Communist China, however, was not in a position to supply this badly needed equipment. It is probable that Moscow had been providing this equipment and spare parts to Pyongyang gratis, or at least on highly favorable terms. But when Pyongyang began to act in a recalcitrant manner, Moscow simply told Pyongyang to pay its own way. The cost of maintaining the existing stocks of equipment alone would be staggering for a small society such as North Korea. It is also probable that the Korean Communists' decision of December 1962 to stress military preparedness "even at the expense of sacrificing economic development" was directly related to the Russian decision to halt military aid to North Korea.

We do know that the Korean Communists moved into the program of "turning the whole country into a fortress" at

full steam. Factories went underground, underground air fields were built, a red militia was organized and trained, rice and salt were stored away in the mountains, all to defend the realm against a full scale attack from the South. Beginning in the summer of 1963, more and more agents were dispatched to the South to build a guerrilla base and to organize the "revolutionary masses." Why the sudden militancy? Did the world situation in 1962 and 1963 warrant these actions? What frightened the Korean Communists in the North? We must remember that this was still the era of President Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietnam and the "Americanization" of the Vietnam war had not even started. (Diem was overthrown only in November 1963.)

Quite possibly, the North Koreans were badly frightened by their weakness resulting from the sudden reversal of the Russian policy of supporting North Korean defense systems. Perhaps the Korean Communists did not anticipate that Khrushchev would cut off military aid to North Korea. Caught in a very vulnerable situation, North Korea began to dig in, ordering everyone to prepare for a massive assault from the South. There is no hard evidence to support these theories, however, and it will be some time before they are either proven or disproven.

Regardless of what caused the North Koreans to turn to militancy, the cost of these programs was very heavy both in economic and human terms. In spite of severe labor shortages, the regime allocated a significant portion of available manpower to military programs. Scarce financial resources had to be allocated to intensified military programs. North Korea announced in 1967 that more than a third of its state budget had been allocated to defense. The result of all this, which I believe was caused by Khrushchev's decision to cut off military aid to North Korea, was that the seven-year economic plan launched in 1961 had to be delayed. In 1966, the sixth year of the seven-year plan, North Korea announced that the seven-year plan would be delayed for three years. Even the three-year delay, however, did not permit the North Koreans to attain the ambitious goals set for themselves in 1961. At the Fifth Congress of the Korean Workers' party held in November 1970, the premier released statistics on only six commodi-

ties, but even there we find that all but coal production fell short of the original goals.[1]

This situation obviously called for adjustment. The frail ship had to leave the left bank and somehow be steered to the right bank where supply was more abundant. We can easily imagine, therefore, the elation of the Korean Communists at the news of Khrushchev's downfall. The hostility of the Communist party of the Soviet Union may not have been all personal, but Khrushchev's downfall at least provided a face-saving opportunity to accost the Russians again. The opportunity in fact came much sooner than expected. Soon after Kosygin ascended to the seat of power, he paid a personal visit to Pyongyang in February 1965. It should be noted parenthetically that this was Kosygin's second visit to Pyongyang. Although plans had been made for Khrushchev's visit on two occasions. the visit had never materialized,

An immediate product of Kosygin's visit was the signing of the USSR-DPRK military agreement at the end of May 1965. This was followed by the conclusion of an agreement on economic and technical cooperation on June 20, 1966, in pursuance of which an economic and scientific-technical consultative committee was reestablished in October 1967. It is generally believed that the Soviet Union resumed shipping badly needed equipment and supplies to North Korea after these agreements. As of 1970, North Korea is believed to have 412,500 men in the regular armed forces and 1.3 million red militia. It possesses some six hundred airplanes including some MIG-21s and MIG-17s, four submarines, ten destroyers, self-propelled artillery, and T-34 tanks. North Korea probably has a better air force and navy than the Republic of Korea.

The resumption of aid from the Soviet Union was inevitably reflected in North Korea's stand on the Sino-Soviet dispute. Pyonkyang, of course, had to move slowly and cautiously. In October 1965, Premier Kim Il-song renewed the old and familiar theme of uniting the international socialist camp and the need for "taking joint steps in the struggle against imperialism." This clearly meant considerable change

[1]Coal production in 1970, according to the premier, was 27.5 million tons. The original plan called for 25 million tons. Other statistics were: electric power, 16,500 of the 19,400 million kwh.; crude steel, 2.2 of 2.3 million tons; textiles, 400 of 500 million linear meters; chemical fertilizer, 1.5 of 1.6 million tons; cement, 4 of 4.3 million tons.

from the earlier denunciations of the Soviet Union. But the parting shot against Peking was fired on August 12, 1966, when the party organ, *Nodong Shinmun* (The Labor News) devoted its editorial to the theme of self-identity. While the editorial attacked revisionists as before, it was more emphatic in denouncing dogmatism, which, according to the editorial, emphasized "only the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, ignoring the changed conditions or specific characteristics of a country." A similar theme was again sounded in October 1966 by Kim Il-song who said

> . . . leftist-opportunism (or dogmatism) does not take into consideration the changed realities, and by dogmatically repeating individual tasks [defined] in Marxism-Leninism, it leads the people to extremist actions by taking up super-revolutionary slogans. It also isolates the party from the people, splinters revolutionary strength and makes it impossible to concentrate the attack against the main enemy.

It is safe to assume that Kim Il-song was referring to the Great Cultural Revolution in China when he spoke of the super-revolutionary slogans and the splintering of the revolutionary struggles.

What Kim Il-song wanted was a reconciliation between China and the Soviet Union in order to "bring about joint actions against imperialism." He implored the Chinese to distinguish between the enemy and the "friends who have committed errors." The premier was now against "narrow-mindedness." The whole speech reminds one of Mao Tse-tung's famous speech on "The Correct Handling of Contradictions" delivered at the time of the Hundred Flowers Campaign, but the Chinese were not willing to listen to Kim Il-song. In early 1967, the Red Guards in China attacked Kim-Il-song as a "fat revisionist" and a "disciple of Khrushchev" living in luxury while the people suffered and creating economic chaos through his policies. In the spring of 1968, Kim was further attacked as an "out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist . . . as well as a millionnaire, an aristocrat and a leading bourgeois element in Korea." An official of the Peking government criticized North Korea in January 1968 for "sitting on the fence."

The feud between Pyongyang and Peking, however, did not last long. Perhaps Peking was convinced that the Korean Communists were not revisionists after all. The Koreans could not

have been more daring and hence more "revolutionary" when they seized the Pueblo (on January 23, 1968) and shot down a U.S. reconnaissance plane (EC 191). Revisionists simply could not perpetrate such acts. Furthermore, the Koreans had not retaliated against the Chinese in kind when the latter had slung mud at the Koreans. In any event, both Pyongyang and Peking were ready to reconcile their differences. In October 1969, when the Chinese celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, Ch'oe Yong-gon, the number two man in North Korea and the head of the presidium of the Supreme Assembly of the DPRK, led the attending Korean delegation. In April 1970, Chou En-lai paid a return visit to Pyongyang signaling the restoration of friendly relations between the two Communist powers. Chou's April 5 speech delivered upon his arrival at the Pynogyang airport could very well have been delivered a few years ago when Pyongyang was closely standing by the Chinese. I shall quote two paragraphs from the short speech to convey Chou's sentiments:

> China and Korea are neighbors as closely related as lips and teeth, and our two peoples are intimate brothers. Both in the long struggle against Japanese imperialism and in the war of resistance against U.S. imperialist aggression, our two peoples stood together and fought shoulder to shoulder. Common struggles have bound our two peoples in a profound militant friendship. Our friendship is cemented with blood; it has been long tested and will stand up to future tests.
>
> At present, U.S. imperialism is advocating in Asia a policy of war expansion of making 'Asians fight Asians.' Fostered energetically by U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries are stepping up the revival of militarism, willingly serving as the former's shock troops. Colluding with each other, the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are directing the spearhead of their aggression squarely against the peoples of China, Korea, the three countries of Indio-China and other Asian countries. Under such circumstances, the further strengthening of the militant unity between the Chinese and Korean peoples is of great significance. The Chinese people will forever stand by the fraternal Korean people in their struggle to defend the security of their Fatherland.

Kim Il-song replied in kind: "Should U.S. imperialism and Japanese imperialism forget the historical lesson and dare to launch a new adventuresome war of aggression again, then the Korean people will again, as in the past, together with

the Chinese people, fight against the enemy to the end." The common enemies of the Chinese and Korean Communists are the so-called American imperialists and Japanese reactionaries. The attitude toward "imperialism" still brings Peking and Pyongyang together. North Korea still finds it impossible to follow the Russian policy of "strengthening the trust" or "collaborating" with the West.

North Korea's switch toward Peking was again confirmed at the Fifth Congress of the Korean Workers' party held in November 1970. This was the first party congress held since 1961, and, like party congresses of all other Communist parties, this was the time to review past accomplishments and set forth the new direction.

This, of course, does not mean that North Korea is going to attack the Russian "revisionists" with the same intensity as during the 1963-64 period. The Korean Communists are not likely to forget the bitter and harsh experience of those years. Principles are very important for the Communists, but survival is essential.

How should we then evaluate the Korean Communists in North Korea? Are they the dogmatists as some of the "revisionists" charged? Or are they the "revisionists" as the Chinese labeled them some time ago? Or are they simply "opportunists" sitting between two stools?

The facts of the last decade I have presented to you should speak for themselves. My conclusion, however, is that they are deeply committed to orthodox (or traditional) versions of Marxism-Leninism which called for war as a means of attaining Communist victory. They are the Stalinists who believe in the role of the hero in history and believe in compulsive and coercive control of the masses to attain the established goals. They are also the nationalists who wish to elevate their status not only within the Communist camp but also in the world arena. But they are deeply frustrated simply because they are trying to fight against the historical current. Their frustration is likely to mount within the foreseeable future rather than recede. We must keep a sharp eye on the frail ship lest it explode in frustration and take the rest of us with it.

Buddhist Imagery

RICHARD EDWARDS*

As with the founders of other major world religions, so far as we know, no Buddhist disciple ever sat down during the lifetime of the Teacher and produced a likeness of Siddārtha Gautama, as the historical Buddha was called. Thus in proposing to discuss Buddhist imagery there is no possibility of describing, in the sense of portraiture, what he and his followers "looked like." All this, to follow out Buddhist notions of escape from attachment to the phenomenal world, has long since passed into Nirvana. If the light of attachment has gone out, then there is no longer anything to see.

It is well known that India, the land of the origin of Buddhism, was long reluctant to change this concept. Carvings associated from the last part of the second and into the first century B.C. designate only what happens when the *presence* of the Buddha is known. There is joy, there is worship, there is the necessity to guard (the door guardian), there is music; all things that live and grow—plants, animals, even people—are stirred to a special kind of life. Specific reliefs, as from Barhut of the first century B.C., indicate that the Buddha is present through such a device as a wheel. But more than these special scenes is the fact that these carvings as a whole partake of a more significant, larger Buddhist imagery. They are grouped around a central form. They make up the outer decor—railings, gates, slabs of stone—enclosing a circular stupa mound. The shape is nothing more than a tomb—or by extension, the place for burial of a relic—the relic mound. The earliest clear major image of the Buddha is then a symbol of death.

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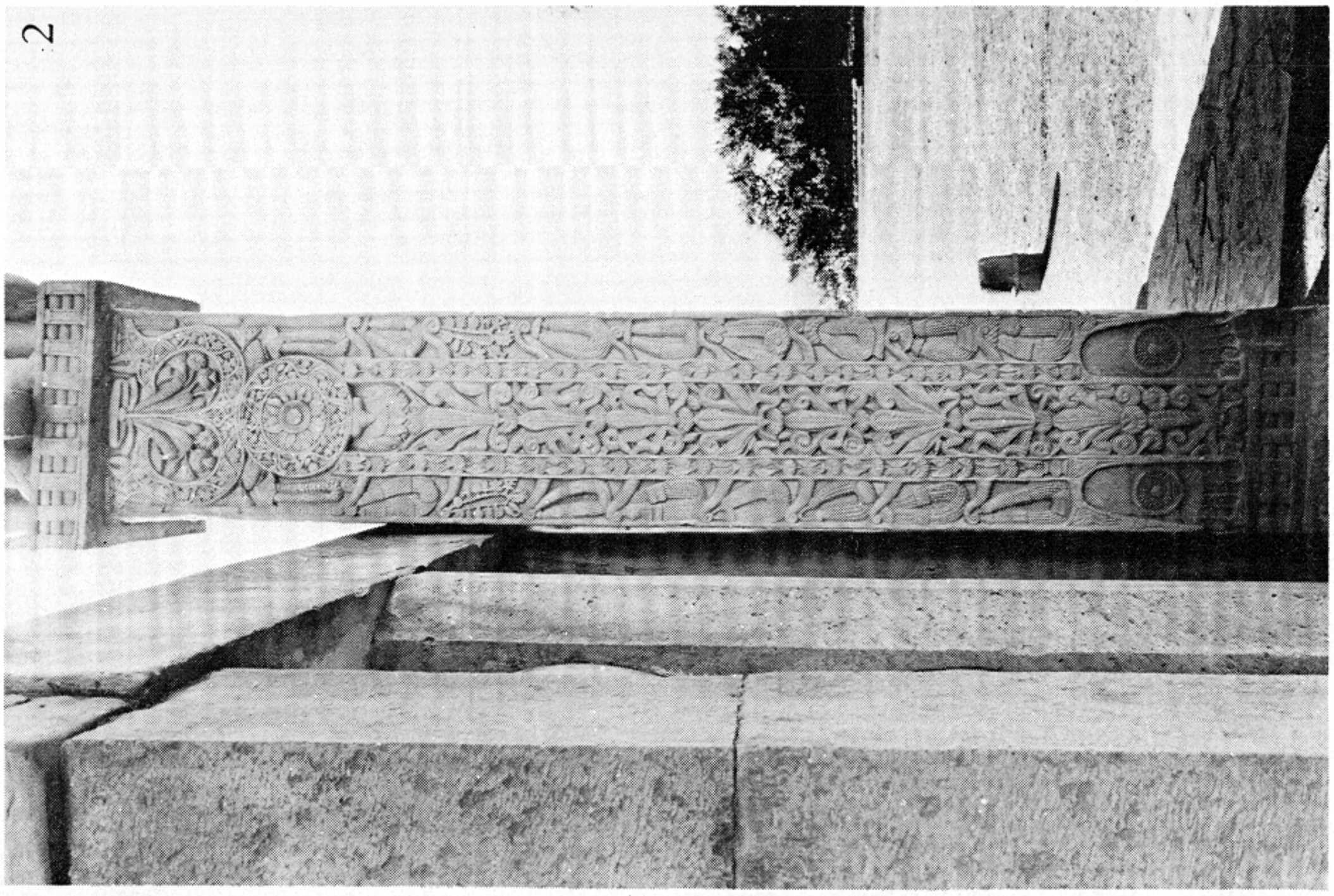
It is, however, also a fact of great religions—certainly with Christianity—that the religion was great because it overcame death—Paul's "O death where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" (I Corinthians 15:55.) The theme of salvation is characteristically one of the most important themes in the early catacombs, as with the prefiguration of the resurrection in the Jonah story. These have their analogy in early Buddhism in the stupa.

The stupa is not the burial mound of any prince or any mere man. The stupa is itself the Buddha. It is a sign to be associated with death, but it is in fact ultimate triumph and indeed, in Christian terminology, everlasting life.

Its symbolism is well known. Its shape is above all to be associated with the earth and its four directions (the gateways), the sky or the great dome of heaven), and the universe itself. The square at the top denotes the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods; the umbrellas above that perhaps indicate different levels in that heaven. The plan with its gates facing the four cardinal directions may recall the ancient swastika, or sun-symbol. The act of worship itself seals the fact of cosmic meaning; for as the sun swings round the great arc of the sky and in its passage controls (is the moving force in) both heaven and earth, so, too, the worshipper enters the gate and in the ritual act of circumambulation moves in a sunwise direction around the stupa, the stupa always to his right.

The Buddhist site of Sānchī is the most complete extant example of an early Buddhist shrine. It stands on a hill. The approach is along a low grade of steps. There are several stupas on the hill at Sānchī, but it is the main one that most concerns us. From at least one approach one sees it before one reaches it, its domelike crest and the mast that rises above it growing out of the trees and shrubbery in the hot Indian sun. And then one reaches the area where the stupa stands—complete in its symmetry, its exact sense of geometry. (Fig. 1.)

We may approach it from the east gate, as the rising sun approaches the world—perhaps drawn by the incredible richness of its carving: the tree goddess, elephants, peacocks—past the guardian of the gate. Now within the sacred precincts you may move around the base of the stupa on the ground level. You may also climb the stairs to a second level. There



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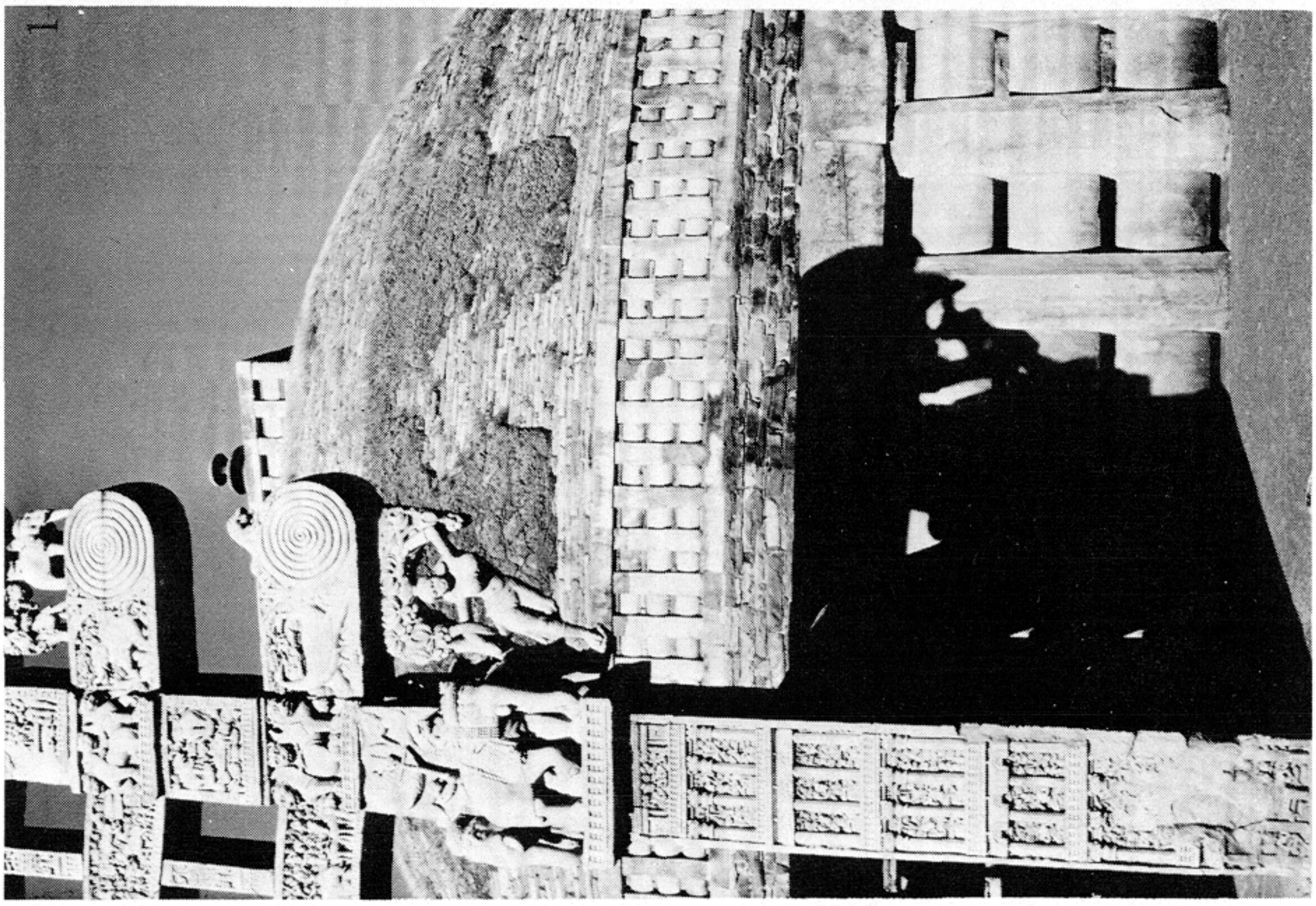

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Figure 1. Sānchī. The Great Stupa. Detail showing central mound and part of east gate. Note both outer railing at ground level and upper-level railing.

Figure 2. Sānchī. North Gate. Buddha footprints and ornament symbolizing Buddha.

you are above the world. You may look back on where you have come, at the tree goddess who with a ritual kick, as in a dance, sends the sap of life coursing through the mango tree and makes it rich in fruit. But perhaps more than the knowledge of the richness of the world is the sense of its extension. You are not only at the top of the hill but close to the top of the stupa.

From here the world stretches out before you as far as the eye can see—here across the great flat plain toward the site of the ancient city of Vidisā, which certainly supplied the patronage that made possible the monastic and temple complex at Sānchī.

What we have been describing at Sānchī is a most significant act of worship—the act of circumambulation. By this the worshipper allies himself physically and psychically with the core of Buddhist experience. One becomes, quite literally, joined with the stupa—its circularity, its centrality, its commanding position in relation to the world that lies calm around it. Like the sun, whose path one has been imitating, one is a part of all one surveys. But one rules not by virtue of the fact of domination but because by a sympathetic act one has become magically joined to the forces that move through the earth and sky. One is a part of the universe. The notion of separation has been shattered. As the Buddha is reported to have said when he himself attained Enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, the tree of Enlightenment at Bodhgaya:

> Seeking the builder of the house
> I have run my course . . . .
> Never again shalt thou build me a house
> All of thy rigging is broken,
> The peak of the roof is shattered:
> Its aggregations passed away,
> Mind has reached the destruction of cravings.[1]

At Sānchī one is reminded of the presence of the Buddha only by symbol, for example, a triune form standing for the Buddha, his law, his church. One may also find a lotus-ornamented circle, a wheellike shape, and the wheel may remind him of the Buddha's teaching or the "turning of the wheel of the law." Again he may be indicated by footprints,

[1]A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (New York, n.d.), p. 54.

on which a wheel may be carved. Above the footprints rises a stylized tree with the same circle, the same triune form. (Fig. 2.) This turns the Buddha into a kind of hymn of ornament, from feet to the triple head.

But of course the greatest statement of the Buddha is the stupa itself. It says what is always true about Buddhist imagery in India. It draws us into the nature of the universe. Our triumph is the triumph of being joined to the forces of life—not just human life, but all life.

Rollo May, the contemporary psychiatrist, notes how modern man has repressed death: "The ways we repress death and its symbolism are amazingly like the ways the Victorians repressed sex. Death is obscene, unmentionable, pornographic . . . death is a nasty mistake."[2] The opposite could be said of the early Buddhists. The symbol of death, the tomb, has become the vehicle for telling us that we are part of a far wider life. To know this is to pass beyond mortality, untruth, the separation that appears to be death.

For some reason in the history of Buddhism, symbol was not enough. This I will not attempt to explain but only state the fact. Sometime (the exact time is not yet clear) about the first or early second century A.D., a Buddhist image in human form was, so to speak, "invented." We see this change at the site of Amarāvatī where one can find reliefs that indicate the Buddha only as a symbol, while other similar reliefs show him in human form. We see the form of the Buddha even more clearly in the art of central and northwestern India during the early centuries A.D. in images associated with territory controlled by the great Kushan Empire. Thus at Muttra, or Mathurā, the Buddha is carved in characteristic red sandstone. In any one of a number of sites in the Northwest, at least as far as what is now Afghanistan, are Buddhas generally given the style name of Gandhāra. They are characterized by the brittle, dark grey stone or schist out of which they are carved or, alternatively, by a clean white stucco which was used for countless other images from this same wide region. Sometimes these stucco images carry the type-site name of Hadda in Afghanistan.

But to return to India proper, by the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., a mature, certain and, by all standards, *ideal*

[2]Rollo May, *Love and Will* (New York, 1969), p. 106.

type of Buddha had evolved. This brings us to the time in history when much of India was under the control of the Gupta dynasty. Some of the most beautiful of these Gupta images come from the Buddhist holy shrine of Sārnāth, the place where the historical Buddha first began to preach—or, as it was said, turn the wheel of the law. A famous image showing the first preaching may be found in the Sārnāth Museum. (Fig. 3.)

What marks such a Buddha—again from the fourth to fifth centuries—is the sense of perfection it conveys: perfection of shape, perfection of proportion, and above all perfection of surface, smooth resilient areas of curving stone only occasionally, and very subtly, interrupted by lines, as the fall of drapery from the Buddha's left hand. These perfections make us wonder if we are looking at a man at all. Indeed the Gupta Buddha is a far cry from what we normally think of as specific human form, as a startling comparison with the van Eyck's exact Adam and Eve from the Ghent Altarpiece in fifteenth century Flanders might remind us.

Indian perfections would seem to carry the image beyond human possibilities. Specific human form is just not made this way. On examining it closer we are able to understand what ideas went into the carving of such a Buddha, and we can affirm that the artist was not directly concerned with human anatomy at all. Rather he created his forms from an understanding of the beauty of certain shapes observed in nature. Thus the shoulder may be likened to the strength found in the trunk of an elephant, the arm compared to a plantain. (Fig. 4.) The torso is seen to be as powerful as that of the lion. Rings of flesh on the neck are like the curves of a conch shell. The chin suggests a bean. Eyes are like a leaf, a flower bud, or the shifting contour of a bird.

The Gupta statue from Sārnāth actually shows the Buddha in the act of preaching. But we can be sure from what we have suggested that it is no man. He is of superhuman scale (as witness the small size of the listening disciples below), but more than that, since this kind of form (as we have seen in the last examples) has been created from a series of shapes drawn out of nature, what we had thought a kind of man becomes in essence something related to all living things—by extension the very universe itself. His form may be embellish-

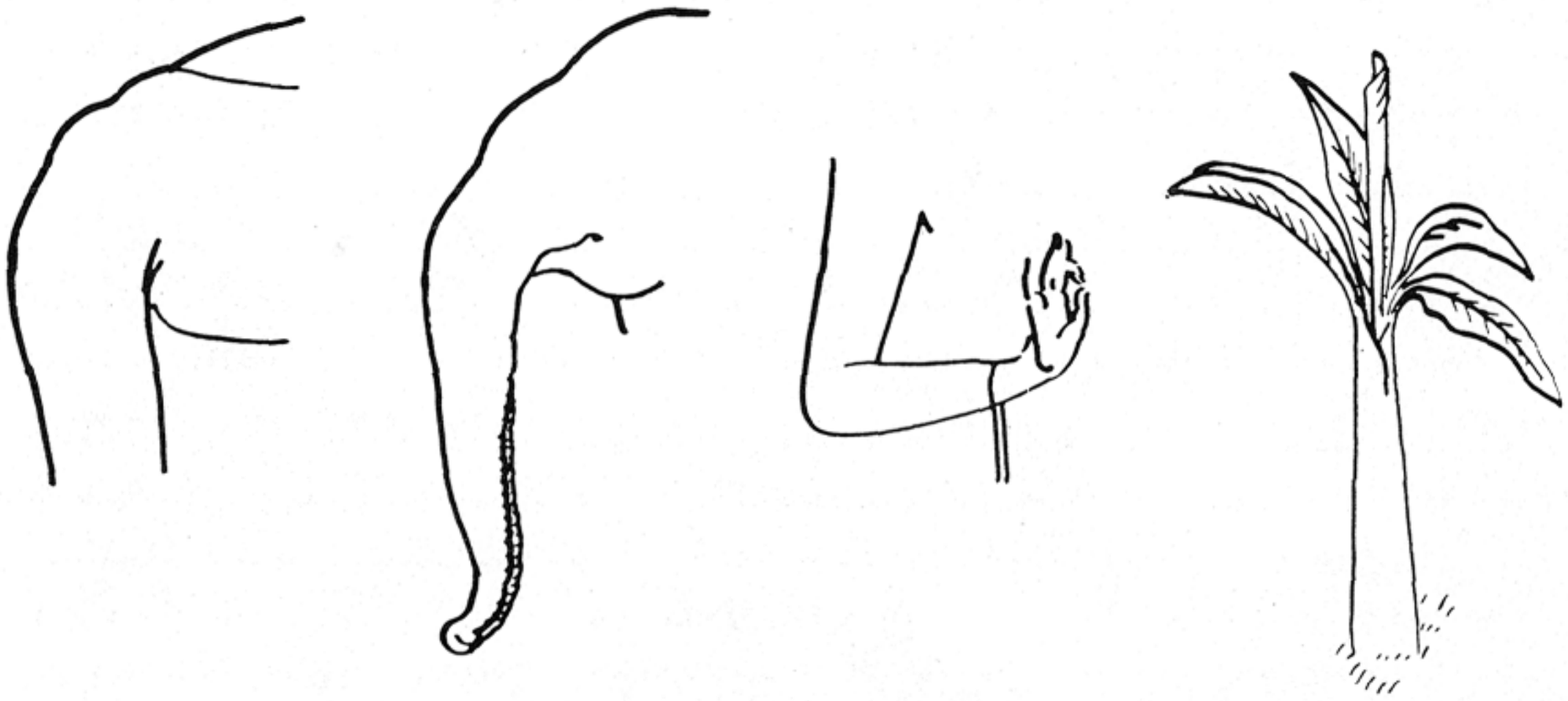

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Figure 3. Buddha preaching the First Sermon, Gupta Period. Archaeological Museum, Sarnath.

Figure 4. Natural shapes suggestive of the ideal Buddha-form. The elephant trunk, the plantain (after a drawing by Tagore).

ed by ornament, as in the halo above his head or the throne on which he sits, but basically the richness of the world is in his own being. Like the stupa of three, four, or five hundred years earlier, his form is a form which transcends mortality through the strength of its connections with the perfect continuities of nature. To be at one with the universe is to leave behind the ephemeral nature of specific flesh. A more real power has been found.

This affirmation of where true strength lies clings to the nature of Buddhist imagery wherever it is found. But Buddha images are by no means exact repetitions of each other.

One of the most fascinating areas for the study of Buddhist imagery takes us into northwest India and on to Pakistan and Afghanistan—that area I have already mentioned in connection with such style-type names as Gandhāra and Hadda. What has most intrigued Westerners about the early art of this region has been its apparent connections with styles of western Mediterranean art—both Greek and Roman. Thus one can find countless suggestive carvings that recall classical parallels: a nude, an Athena-like goddess, a winged god, the arrangement of figures in a relief (not unlike that of first- or second-century Rome). Efforts have thus been made to see the Buddha from this area as a kind of classical philosopher-god —a simple human figure having ideal human capabilities.

One of the problems, however, in analyzing Gandhāran art from a classical point of view is that it does not quite come off as a truly classical Western art. There are other ingredients that went into forming it. So much so that the French archeologist, Daniel Schlumberger, in a brilliant analysis of this type of expression, has given it the broad term, "Non-Mediterranean Greek Art."[3] It is the non-Mediterranean aspects which I think should most concern us and in this sense non-Mediterranean might be translated into Asian, or even more specifically "central Asian."

An image which may indicate what I mean comes from a site in Afghanistan, not too far north of the capital, Kabul, which goes under the modern name of Shotorak. (Fig. 5.) The monastery of Shotorak was on an impressive site at a rocky outcropping overlooking the Panjir River and the moun-

[3]Daniel Schlumberger, "Descendants non-Méditerranéens de l'art Grec," *Syria* 37 (1960), 131-166, 253-318.

Figure 5. Dipankara Buddha. From Shotorak, Kabul Museum.

tain range that leads to the Hindu Kush. It was located outside of the famous early capital city of Kāpisa-Begrām, a center of Kushan rule in this part of Asia. It was possibly a monastery that received royal patronage. This then is an image that must reflect the height of taste and achievement at a time probably close to the third century A.D.

The image itself is about three feet high (32 7/8 inches). Its qualities are perhaps not immediately apparent. Expecting a more graceful, supple form, particularly after having seen Gupta India, one is perhaps misled. But consider what must have been the artist's purposes.

We are made aware of the superhuman scale of the Buddha by the lesser scale of the figures around it, like the seated, preaching Buddha from Sārnāth. Actually, the Buddha is being worshipped. Lotus flowers are being offered, and they hang over him in a ring of glory above his head. A figure is bowing down at his feet (at the lower left). In fact the Buddha is treading on his hair which is spread out like a carpet upon the ground. We can further identify the Buddha as being a Buddha of the past with the name, Dipankara, the last of twenty-four previous Buddhas; and the principle figure who is worshipping him and whom we see in several different poses is none other than the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, in a previous incarnation. Thus we are taken back in time and shown a Buddha not only magestic in size but one whose power is representative of a series of Buddhas who transcend time. The power of Buddhism is not tied just to a specific historical personality. We are to see this stocky, strong Buddha as a kind of insistent vision. As partial affirmation of this, fire springs from the shoulders. At the same time, it is an image of reassurance. The great webbed hand, with its wheellike symbol, is raised in the gesture denoting freedom from fear.

But most of all, the power of the Shotorak image rests in its formal qualities. The stocky proportions, the heavy limbs and torso, the exact firm ridges that denote the drapery—all combine to create a notion of unshakable majesty. Although it is stylistically and geographically part of Gandhāran art as a whole, there is little here to suggest the classical Mediterranean world so often related to that style. Any flavor of a Greek or Roman philosopher is far away. Dipankara Buddha

is a transcendent being having little to do with the ordinary human world. Its nonhuman (godlike) qualities, however, have been attained in a manner rather different from that which brought about the smoothly harmonious transcendence of the images of Gupta India. This can all be summed up in a comparison—on the one hand the head of the Shotorak Buddha, on the other the head of the Sārnāth Preaching Buddha of the Gupta period.

As sculpture, two basic factors contribute to the difference. Quite simply, one is the three-dimensional treatment of form; the other is the way line is related to that form. The Shotorak head—as you can recall of the whole figure—is distinctive because of its solid, blocky nature. Whether it be the hair, the face, the neck, or the chest, there is an undeniable sense of rigid mass—a special powerful insistent force. On the other hand, the Gupta head, while clearly a part of the same notion of what the Buddha should be like, is in many ways its opposite. Three-dimensional form is very much there, but it is infinitely softer, smoother, more gentle in its subtle variations of surface. The contrast is confirmed when we consider the other basic factor I have mentioned—line. Consistent with the smoothness of surface, line on the Gupta head is treated with the utmost subtlety. On hair, face, neck, and chest, it gently defines detail and seems to melt into the form so as at times to be scarcely perceptible. For the Shortorak head the opposite would seem to be true. Line stands out as firm drapery ridges on the chest. The hair is a series of deep and distinct waves. Lines such as at the neck and eyebrows reinforce by their sureness marked breaks in the continuity of planes—planes which in the Gupta head flow one into the other to create a sense of easy transitions. As a total image, as well, the rigidity of the Shortorak example—royal Kushan art—stands in clear opposition to the flowing suppleness of Gupta examples—imperial Indian art.

Moving further into the mountain vastness of central Afghanistan, one reaches the valley of Bāmiyān. High in the mountains, it was a resting place in the trade routes that led north and south, east and west. It was visited, for example, by the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who in the heyday of Buddist glory trekked the long miles across central Asia to visit the holy spots of India. Most famous of these was the

Chinese monk, Hsüan-tsang. He was in Bāmiyān in 632. In commenting on the religious devotion of the inhabitants of the valley, he also has given us a brief description of the imagery that was there:

> To the northeast of the royal city is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness . . . . To the east . . . there is a standing figure of Sakyamuni Buddha . . . in height 100 feet.[4]

Now no longer dazzling the eye with gold, but in noble and majestic ruin, the two great Buddhas still stand a quarter of a mile apart, the cliff around them pockmarked with the remains of countless caves—shrines, chapels, retreats for the Buddhist community that once flourished here.

The image of Shakyamuni (that is the historical Buddha) is the image that is to the east. Now measured as being 120 feet high, it seems to have been consciously placed in its niche (actually carved out of the living rock) so as to be at the center of the now-eroded mountain that rises around it. (Fig. 6.) Although carved out of the living rock, it was finished with a layer of stucco and originally at least embellished with paint.

As you come closer you realize the nature of the carving—or perhaps one should more accurately say the modelling—how the stucco forms the ridges that suggest the drapery clinging to the massive body. From close up they stand out rather sharply. Yet still the ridges melt somewhat gradually into the hollows of the drapery.

From the point of view of style (direction in which style moves), it is appropriate here to shift to the surface of the far larger Buddha a quarter of a mile to the west. This is the Buddha that towers not a mere 120 feet but all of 175 feet in its similarly cut niche. Here, however, you can detect how much more sharply the ridges are formed as they lie like carefully looped strings (on this scale, great ropes) swinging across the core of the Buddha's form. The 175-foot Buddha is generally thought to have been carved some two hundred years after the smaller 120-foot image—possibly in the fifth

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[4]Samuel Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India,* translated from the Chinese of Hsuen Tsiang, 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1963), p. 114.

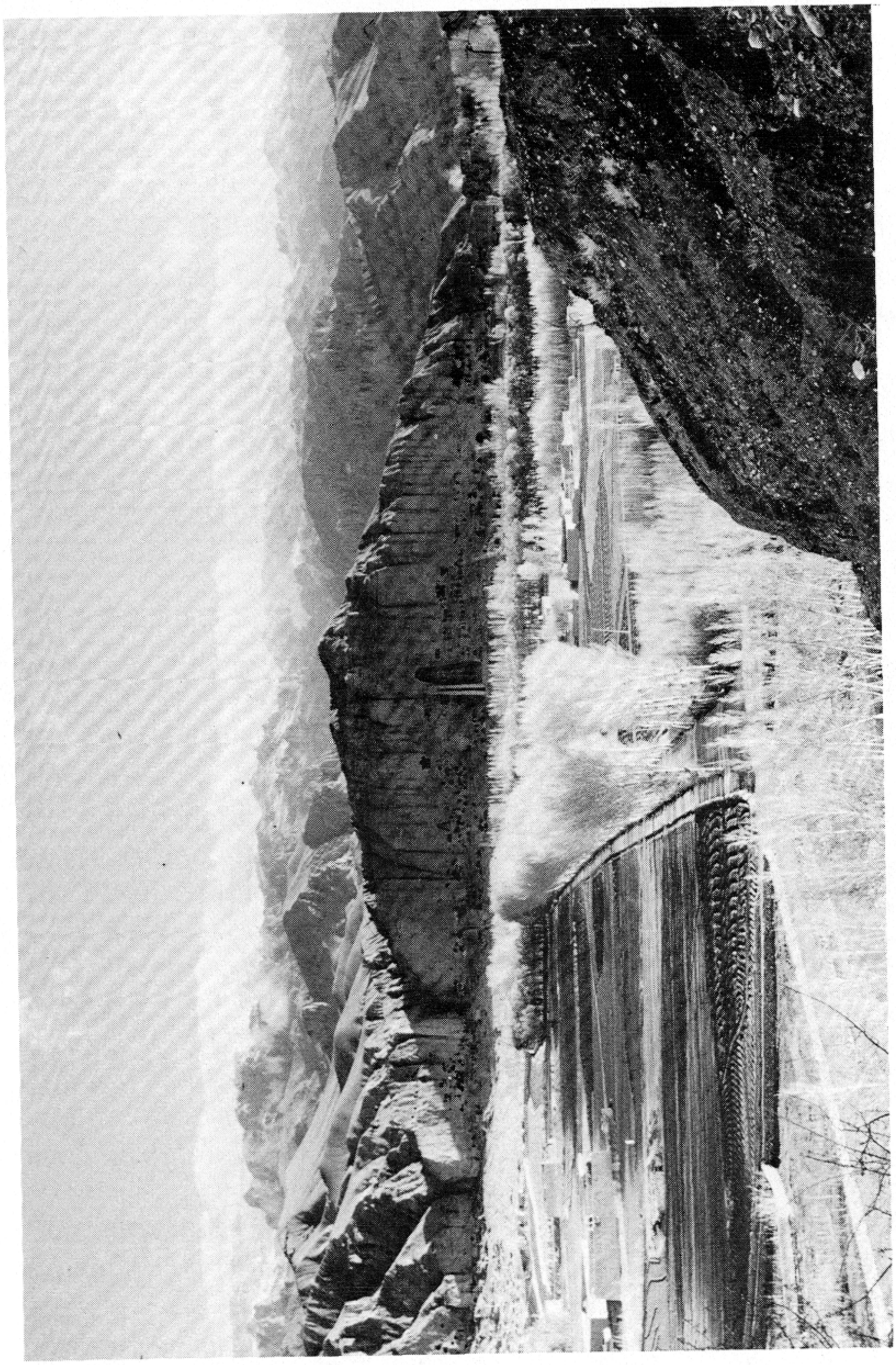

Figure 6. Bāmiyān. Cliff-mountain containing the 120-foot Buddha, Shakyamuni. Distant view from the south suggesting the central position of the Buddha.

century A.D. Differences may thus be said to rest on the fact of historical change, a change of attitude, a development of style. But for our purposes it indicates a desire in a famous central Asian site to create a Buddha, enormously expanded in size, with much the same impact as what we have seen in the Dipankara Buddha from Shotorak. The realization of solid three-dimensioned form creates a rigid, immobile image upon which plays a pattern of line standing out as a separate vital element in the definition of that image.

What is the significance? It is quite simply this: from the point of view of sculptural style, I am suggesting that there are two distinct Buddha types. One we have associated with Gupta India. The other grows out of the milieu that we often connect with the name Gandhāra, and it develops into an expression most justly associated with central Asia. Thus we find it at Shotorak and at Bāmiyān. As one follows the spread of Buddhism into the Far East, there continue to be only these two basic style-types—one type of imagery in which line and form are harmoniously blended and never separate themselves from the whole, the other image where line and form seem to operate as individually distinct elements, creating perhaps rigidities but also a very special type of expressiveness.

On the one hand is an image which in its harmony and use of nonexaggerated proportions is a formally unified figure where line and three-dimensional shapes blend beautifully together. These are images of harmonious reason. The other type is a more broken, interrupted image where, formally, line stands out as line. Three dimensionality is often exaggerated, heavy. There may also be exaggeration of certain parts, such as the hands, or a head. This stylistic type does not stress so much unified harmony as expressive possibilities, which may lead to images that are both authoritarian—positive in their absolute strength—and more emotionally charged. These are the images of faith as opposed to the images of reason.

Art historians generally agree that the art of Buddhist central Asia had a major impact on early Buddhist art in the Far East. We also find art in the Far East that offers stylistic parallels to—and may have been strongly influenced by—the art of Gupta India. Thus the strong aesthetic dichotomy that extists between imagery from the heart of India and imagery from the wide spaces traversed by the trade routes of central

Asia continues in China and Japan. One can check this imagery from reproductions in almost any book on the history of art—more particularly, sculpture—of the Far East.[5]

In the fifth and sixth centuries, art in China was particularly in the north, dominated by a central Asian aesthetic. The T'ang dynasty generally created a marked change and an imagery close to the harmonies of Gupta India. In later times, as in the Sung period, one finds far more detail but at the same time overriding harmonies that lead to a marvelous integrated sense of repose. Still there are reversions to contrary rigidities of form and exaggerated play of line. This is particularly true of archaizing images, as with attempts to revive the legendary original Buddha image, the image made for King Udayana from what is now the Pakistan territory of Swat. A famous Sung example of this type is at Seiryōji in Kyōto.

In Japan is a similar historical pattern: the separate expressiveness of form and line being most evident in the seventh century, harmonies in the eighth. The ninth century continues them, but in a subtle way reverts. One is aware particularly of a massiveness of form that is a special characteristic of early Heian (Jōgan) sculpture. On rather over-massive figures, line may play its part as a contrasting pattern. A clear example of this is to be found in a well-known seated Shaka (Shakyamuni) figure from Murōji. As one moves into later Heian and on to Kamakura Japan, whatever the notion of harmony (which is not lacking), the image has in fact become so stylized as to become again *formal* in a sense not unlike that we first applied to central Asia.

But other than the notion of harmonious unity of form and line, on the one hand, and conscious separate manipulation of form and line on the other, a third factor is at work upon the imagery of later Buddhism. Later Buddhist imagery may be looked upon from another dimension. In the sense of conveying powerful and transcendent feeling, I think it is not

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[5]I would suggest, for example, consulting plates in Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art* (New York, 1964); Robert T. Paine and Alexander C. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of Japan* (Baltimore, 1955, 1960); Laurence Sickman and Alexander C. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore, 1956, 1960); Oswald Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture,* 4 vols. (London, 1925); Michael Sullivan, *An Introduction to Chinese Art* (London, 1961); William Watson, *Sculpture of Japan,* from the fifth to the fifteenth century (London, 1959); Wilbur Willets, *Foundations of Chinese Art* (London, 1965).

unfair to suggest that this Buddhist imagery of the Far East (of course there is none in India where it disappeared entirely) loses a great deal. I am speaking, somewhat arbitrarily, of icons from about the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on even to the present day. They tend to be more detailed; as such they are closer to a more specific earthly experience; they often tend to be more relaxed; they are less grand. If they are archaistic, they are over rigid and dry. Similarly, they lose power.

The general trend in this later, more detailed realization of the Buddha is to bring Buddha back to earth, to see him again in the specific guise of a mortal. Thus to see the Buddha wrapped in the frailty of human flesh is one of the most important elements in his imagery. A beautiful small statue of wood, lacquer, and gold in the Detroit Museum is a clear case of the Buddha represented thus as an ascetic. (Fig. 7.) If the Buddha fasts, he grows thin and emaciated as we would grow thin and emaciated. This statue was made sometime in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The same kind of Buddha may be seen in a painting by the famous Chinese artist, Liang K'ai, of the thirteenth century. It is now in the Tōkyō National Museum and shows the Buddha, that is Shakyamuni, coming out of the mountain after a period of such ascetic contemplation. Again the frailty of human flesh is apparent.

The effect of this effort to see Buddha as a specific man is of course to bring him closer to us. He is no longer the perfect reflection of the universe. He no longer has the power of massive physical form. He is no longer an other-worldly vision whom we approach through a transcendent act of faith. He is an intensified version of us.

No longer an image of perfection, has he indeed lost his power? I would suggest that the power has not gone, that the essential Buddhism has not gone, but that the message has shifted its focus. Becoming more specific, becoming more human, whatever power there may be has to do with the existence of a particular psychological force. Like a Rembrandt portrait, the power of the Buddha now rests in what we can sense from the particular personalized image.

Another aspect of this trend is that the nature of Buddhism may spread to other images that exemplify the Buddha-idea.

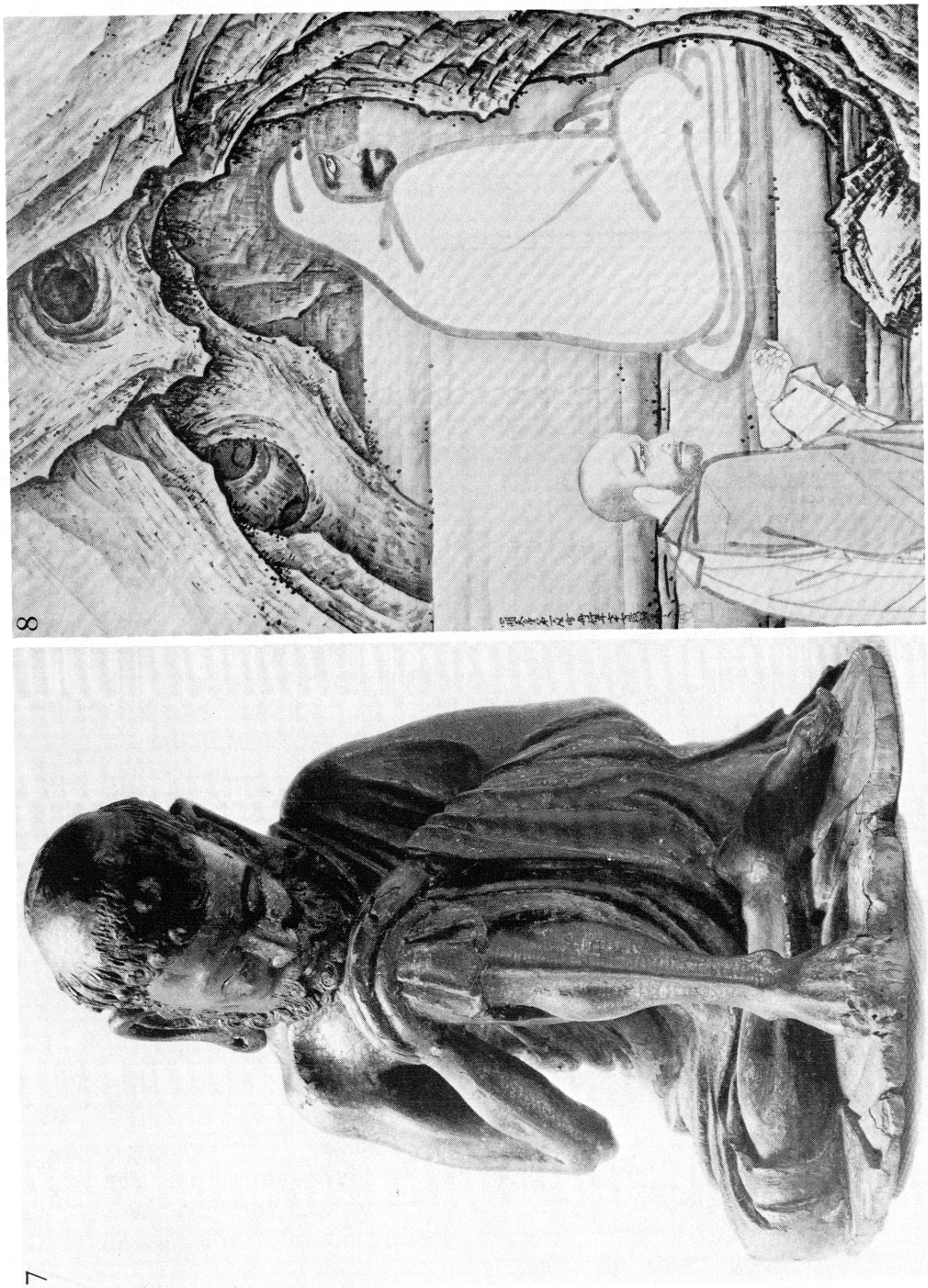

Figure 7. Shakyamuni as an Ascetic. Lacquered Wood. Yüan Dynasty. The Detroit Institute of Arts.
Figure 8. Daruma and Eka. By Sesshū. Dated 1496. Saienji.

Heroes other than Shakyamuni take on a similar significance. Liang K'ai painted not only Shakyamuni but also other sages, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, with much the same general intent. Thus still surviving by his hand are masterful images of the Chinese T'ang poet, Li Po, and the Buddhist sage, Hui-neng. This type of imagery may lead to a particular scene involving the confrontation of great images, or perhaps more accurately images now in the guise of particular people. Perhaps the most powerful example of this is found in a great Japanese painting by Sesshū of the late fifteenth century owned by Sainenji in Japan. (Fig. 8.) (It was shown in 1970 in an exhibition of Buddhist Zen art at the Boston Museum.) Here are painted not Buddhas in the strictest sense but heroes from the Zen sect of Buddhism who embody (as they saw it) the complete spirit of the Buddha—Daruma (to use the Japanese term for Bodhidharma), and Eka (or Hui-k'o), a Chinese monk.

The story is that Daruma, having arrived in China in the sixth century, told the emporer and his Buddhist followers that they were wasting their time in ordinary Buddhist worship such as their devotion to ordinary images. He went off and sat facing a cliff for nine years—the almost ritual act of "wall-gazing" said to have taken place at the Shao-lin Temple on sacred Mount Sung, a mountain traditionally placed in the center of China. (Is this not to be compared to the centrality of Shakyamuni in the mountain cliff at Bāmiyān?) Nothing would stir the great sage from the pure isolation of his retreat. A would-be disciple, Eka, could not convince him of his sincerity and hence his worthiness to be instructed in this new wisdom until he proved it by cutting off his arm. This is the somewhat incomprehensible and grisly scene that is visible in the scroll—Eka in the corner offering his arm to the great motionless sage.

The artist, Sesshu, has caught the psychological struggle—the contrast between the undisturbed certainty of Bodhidharma (Daruma), the sage who has attained wisdom, and the angular sense of struggle that is in the would-be disciple who seeks to attain that wisdom. It is the same essential concentrated contrast down to the very face or eye of each figure. Strictly, no Buddha is shown here, but the enigma of a strange kind of Buddhist wisdom is revealed.

One wonders if we have not returned to where we began, for a clear notion of what the Buddha looked like once more eludes us. Buddha no longer has the imposing objective authority of Bāmiyān or Shotorak. He no longer is seen in that harmonious combination of ideal shapes, the beautiful blending of form and line that we first saw in Gupta India. He has seemingly left the temple. As an eighteenth century Chinese poet lamented:

> No monk lives at the old temple, the Buddha has toppled
> to the floor;
> One Bell hangs high, bright with evening sun.
> Sad that when only a tap is needed, no one now dares
> To rouse the notes of solemn music that cram its
> ancient frame.[6]

In becoming particularized, secularized, does Buddha not once again lose his objective form? We are at a point not far from the earliest beginnings. There is no objective god. There is only a way, which each individual, as with the original Buddha whose likeness we cannot know, must discover for himself.

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[6]Quoted by Arthur F. Wright (from Waley, *Yüan Mei*), *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford, London, 1959), p. 95.

The Church and Asia

One day we hope to be able to turn the entire leadership of these Asian countries over to the people themselves and to have the Japanese people feel that they have some of their own culture in the presiding councils of the Church. These people will feel that this is not just a Utah church, it's not just an American church—this is the Church of Jesus Christ in all the world.

President Harold B. Lee (from an address given on April 17, 1971, before the missionaries of the Japan Central Mission at Osaka, Japan)

A MOUNTAIN STREAM

A Painting

by

Tsun-pin Lin*

In this painting, the mountains embrace one another, and the clouds float gracefully through the valley producing a scene of peace and quietude. This serenity is broken by the roar of the waterfall in the background. The mood of this painting depicts the traditional belief of the Chinese people in the presence of both the "Yin" and the "Yang" in everything; in darkness there is some light, in bad there is some good, and, as with this painting, in silence there is some sound.

*Brother Tsun-pin Lin teaches art in Taipei, Taiwan, and has devoted his energies to paintings for more than forty years. His paintings are colorful landscapes producing moods of uniformity, harmony, and beauty. He is president of the North District of the Taiwan Mission.

Unto All Men*

HOWARD W. HUNTER**

As you are engaged in this important East-West Week on the campus, I have been asked to say a few words, in keeping with the theme of the week, about the growth of the Church in the world and, in particular, the growth in the Pacific and the Far East.

The growth of the Church is counter to the trend being established by many other churches. This is a day in which nearly every major Christian church is facing serious problems. They seem to be suffering substantial declines in membership; there are fewer persons in attendance at religious services, according to writers. Members of the clergy are finding fault with the doctrines and long-standing practices of their churches. If we can believe what we read, there is little harmony among the clergy of many faiths, and there is a lack of unity. Finance appears to be a problem, and prestige is declining.

Comments have been made by news writers and in articles appearing in national publications about The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as an exception to this trend. Such comments are not without justification in fact. The reasons are many. The program of the Church is a vital, vibrant force in the lives of its members. We hold the conviction that this is the Church of Christ, which imposes upon us the responsibility of sharing that witness with others. There are hundreds present here today who have gone into the world to express their feelings to others about their belief. This enthusiastic dedication, and devotion, has resulted in one of the large factors responsible for the growth of the Church that has taken place and is taking place in the world today. We honor each of you

*A Devotional Assembly address at Brigham Young University, March 16, 1971

**Elder Hunter is a member of the Council of the Twelve of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and is the Church Historian.

who has taken part in this magnificent effort and has had an interest beyond self.

It seems to me that the events of this week on the campus also demonstrate the principle that we have an interest beyond our own little domain. I know of no other campus where there is a greater percentage of students and faculty with the experience of having lived in lands beyond our borders. You have been students of the affairs of other people—of their culture, art, music, business, political affairs, and other matters —which makes this University outstanding and the logical place for studies that extend interest beyond our own land.

Since its beginning, the Church has had an interest in other peoples. The first section of the Doctrine and Covenants opens with these words from the Lord to his people:

> Hearken, O ye people of my church, saith the voice of him who dwells on high, and whose eyes are upon all men; yea, verily I say: Hearken ye people from afar; and ye that are upon the islands of the sea, listen together.
>
> For verily the voice of the Lord is unto all men, and there is none to escape; and there is no eye that shall not see, neither ear that shall not hear, neither heart that shall not be penetrated. (D&C 1:1-2.)

THE GOSPEL TO ALL PEOPLES

Following the admonition to carry the gospel to all persons, missionaries have gone to the nations of the earth. Within a year after the organization of the Church, missionaries were sent out in the United States. Within only three years, missionaries were sent beyond the borders of this nation. The first went to Canada; then the work was extended to England. Not much was known of the West at that time, and less was known of the vast area beyond the shores of the Pacific. Strange stories were brought back by returning seamen; yet, the first missionaries sent out to peoples who spoke a language other than English were called to go to the Pacific.

In the frontier settlement of Nauvoo, during the time of the construction of the temple, the Prophet Joseph Smith called four, young married men to leave their families and go to the Sandwich Islands, now known as Hawaii. They traveled to the East Coast but were unable to find a ship going to the Sandwich Islands. Finally, they were able to book passage on a

whaling vessel scheduled to stop at Tahiti in the Society Islands. The ship left New Bedford, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1843. The long route they took to Tahiti is an interesting one as we look at it today. The ship sailed southerly in the Atlantic, across the equator, and under the southern tip of Africa. Then it went west across the Indian Ocean, under Australia, passing Tasmania and New Zealand, and into the Pacific Ocean, sailing northeasterly toward Tahiti.

One of the four missionaries died during this long, strenuous trip and was buried at sea. The next spring, because of the need for supplies, the ship put in at the island of Tubuai in the Austral group. Addison Pratt, one of the missionaries, decided to stay on this Polynesian island, and the other two continued the voyage to Tahiti.

During the first three months, Elder Pratt baptized ten people, including the only six white men on the little island. A branch was organized and it grew and prospered. The two who went to Tahiti had problems because of the fighting between the French and the Tahitians. Elder Gruard went to the island of Anaa in the Tuamotu group. He was the first white missionary to the island. Within four months he had baptized 620 people and had organized five branches. From this difficult beginning the work has spread across the Pacific.

Six years later ten missionaries were sent to the Sandwich Islands. Within eight months 220 persons had been baptized. More missionaries were sent, and four years later there were four thousand saints in Hawaii. Missionaries went to Australia in 1851; and the first to New Zealand, the land of the Maori, arrived in 1854. Then followed Samoa, Tonga, Raratonga in the Cook Islands, and other islands of the Pacific. The work continued to roll forward through the Polynesian Islands and Australia and New Zealand in the Southern Hemisphere. Fifty years ago there were about thirteen thousand members of the Church in this area of the world. Since that time the growth has been significant. Today the membership, including Hawaii, is about 160 thousand.

The first stake in the Church to be organized outside of North America and Hawaii was in the South Pacific, the Auckland Stake in New Zealand. This stake was organized in 1958, at the time the New Zealand Temple was dedicated. The growth since that time has been phenomenal. There are now

forty-nine stakes outside of the United States and Canada. Of these, twenty-two are in the Pacific area: four in Samoa, three in Tonga, seven in New Zealand, seven in Australia, and a new stake in Japan.

EDUCATION IN THE PACIFIC

The interest of the Church in the education of its members is an important factor in the growth and development in the Pacific. The missionaries in the early days taught both children and adults in many areas where education was not otherwise available. In some places schools were established to help students in elementary education, language, agriculture, and religious education. Much good has come from such schools, and the Maori Agricultural College, in New Zealand, is an outstanding example. Today the Church has schools across the Pacific. In Hawaii, next to the Hawaii Temple at Laie, lies the beautiful campus of The Church College of Hawaii. It was built especially for the young people of Polynesia and has been attended by many of our fine young Latter-day Saints from the Far East as well. Adjacent to the college the Church has constructed the Polynesian Cultural Center, where students can perform in their native cultures and earn their transporation, tuition, and board and room while pursuing a higher education. Their wholesome appearance and enthusiastic performance has made this Hawaii's most patronized tourist attraction.

In addition to Hawaii, we have schools in many other places in the Pacific. In Western Samoa there are primary and postprimary schools in Sauniatu and Vaila; an elementary school at Pesega; and also the well-known Church College of Western Samoa, a secondary school near Apia. There are also six other primary schools in Western Samoa. In American Samoa the Church maintains the Mapusaga High School. Its campus, in a tropical South Sea setting, is one of the most beautiful in the Pacific and in some ways similar to the well-known Liahona High School in Tonga. Moreover, there are ten intermediate schools in the Kingdom of Tonga. To the west, in Fiji, the Church has established on elementary school in Suva. It would thrill you to go into the classrooms of the four hundred students in the elementary school in Tahiti and see the work that is being done and the results of this Church school. On to the south and adjoining the New Zealand

Temple grounds is the campus of The Church College of New Zealand, where young people from many places in the South Pacific attend school.

These schools give young people the opportunity for an education that many of them would not otherwise receive. In addition, they touch their lives with religious education and spirituality. The growth of the Church has been the highest in areas where we have establishd schools. Many of our students go into the mission field upon being graduated and render effective missionary service. Their education and background qualify them to take their places in leadership in the Church, adding great strength for future growth.

GROWTH IN THE FAR EAST

The Church has fanned westward across the Pacific. It is now extending missionary work into the Far East: Japan, Okinawa, Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Vietnam, Singapore, Malasia, Indonesia, and Thailand.

Twenty years ago, about the time of the birth of most of you assembled here today, there were only about four hundred members of the Church in Japan. Since that time missionary work has been renewed. Today there are more than fifteen thousand saints on those islands, and the work is proceeding rapidly. We now have four missions in Japan, and the first stake has been organized. There are nearly five thousand members of the Church in Korea; over five thousand in the Philippines; about four thousand in Hong Kong; four thousand in Taiwan; and growth in Thailand, Singapore, Vietnam and Indonesia is taking root.

The door has been opened for the sweep of the gospel through the Far East. We are building congregations of saints, constructing chapels, and carrying forward a great missionary program. At the World Conference on Records in Salt Lake City, hosted by the Genealogical Society of the Church, representatives of the national libraries of four of the major countries of the Far East were present and participated in the proceedings. The result was a boon to genealogical work. Negotiations are now in progress for microfilming in some of these Asian countries.

The day has long since passed when the Church is thought of as "the Utah church" or as a United States organization. It

has attained international aspects: it is a Mexican church, a Samoan church, a Chinese church, a Japanese church. We have deep interest in peoples of many lands. This worldwide Church spans the oceans and touches the lives of people on all continents, making them brothers through the gospel. It is only proper for Brigham Young University, as a part of the Church, to give a worldwide accent to its program. Its faculty and student body are foremost in experience with and understanding of other people.

During this important week, as you pause to focus on the Pacific and Asia, we commend you for your efforts to expand understanding. As believers in the gospel of Jesus Christ, it is our hope that greater insight will come to the nations of the world and to men everywhere. This requires conscientious effort, and Brigham Young University should be a leader. I pray the Lord will bless you in your efforts.

I know that the work in which we are engaged to build the kingdom is true. Before I leave this microphone, I want to tell you of my positive conviction that God lives and loves his children, regardless of their race or color. His son, Jesus Christ, is our leader and stands at the head of the Church. I bear witness of his divinity as our Savior and of his divine leadership and direction of his Church. I pray that God will bless you in your endeavors to bring understanding to men everywhere, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

A Symposium

Problems and Opportunities of Missionary Work in Asia

MODERATOR: R. Lanier Britsch, associate coordinator of Asian Studies.

DISCUSSANTS: Paul S. Rose, former president, Philippines Mission. H. Grant Heaton, former president, Chinese Mission. Adney Y. Komatsu, former president, Japanese Mission. Spencer J. Palmer, former president, Korean Mission.

R. LANIER BRITSCH: For those of us sitting here before you, this is a privilege and, I might even say, a great thrill. I've been interested in the missions of Asia for a number of years, and, of course, the brethren to my right and left share my interest. All of them have had a far more active interest in Asia in direct terms than I've been able to enjoy. As former mission presidents, these men have had some of the greatest experiences in terms of Church missionary history that we could have possibly brought together.

Dealing with a problem as expansive as the missions in Asia is something difficult to do in the short time allotted. Today we hope to gain greater insight into the diversity that exists in Asia and into some of the accomplishments that have been made in the Asian missions since their inception. Most of them are relatively new. Japan was organized in 1948. It was technically organized in 1901, then lasted until 1924; but they only had about 166 baptisms then, and they get about that in a month now; so things have changed greatly there. What we want to do is try to discuss some

of the accomplishments and then, hopefully, tune ourselves to some of the problems that we feel need attention. First we will ask President Rose to introduce the general topic of the current situation. He will statistically introduce the Asian missions, then spend a few minutes discussing the Philippines Mission. He will be followed by Brother Heaton, Brother Komatsu, and Brother Palmer.

PAUL S. ROSE: I am happy to be here. I had the privilege of being on campus back in 1942 and '43 as a member of the staff. It is like coming home. I perhaps ought to preface my remarks by reading what Elder Ezra Taft Benson said at general conference in 1970. "In the timetable of the Lord, I think the door is now open and this is the time for the work in Asia. Each visit there has been productive and inspirational. In each of the countries the tremendous expansion and growth is an inspiration."

The work is indeed going forward in Asia. I have available in my assignment at Church headquarters the mission statistics of both the stakes and the full-time missions. I've prepared for the missionary committee a paper showing the rankings of all the missions of the Church according to baptisms per missionary. And it might be interesting that the four top ones are Mexico North, Mexico Northeast, North Central, Mexico Southwest, and Mexico. And some of you who have been on missions would be astounded to know that in the Mexico North Mission last year there were 67.4 baptisms per missionary. Of the twenty-eight top missions of the Church, as far as baptisms are concerned, fifteen of them came in countries strongly Catholic. There's a change throughout the world in this regard.

In Asia we have eight missions: Japan, Japan Central, Japan West, Japan East, Hong Kong, Korea, the Philippines, and Southeast Asia. Last year [1970] 1,031 missionaries in Asia had 5,808 baptisms, or an average of 5.6 baptisms per missionary. In all of Europe, twenty-three missions, including England, had 3,312 missionaries and 7,667 baptisms, or 2.3 baptisms per missionary. This compares with 4.6 in Asia, and some countries in Asia are much higher than 4.6. I am happy to tell the Philippines missionaries that they had 10.4 there last year. You might be interested to know that in the

Scandinavian and Germanic countries not counting England, there is 1.5 baptisms per missionary per year. The Scandinavian and Germanic countries, starting with Sweden, 1.2, and Switzerland, 1.0, Finland, 1.0, Austria, 0.9, Denmark, 0.9, Central Germany, 0.9, Central Germany North, 0.8, Norway, 0.7, baptisms per year.

The timetable of the Lord in Asia is certainly in evidence, as President Benson indicated. Keep in mind that 1,031 missionaries have had 5,808 baptisms. In the twenty-three missions of Europe, including England, all of continental Europe had only about 7,667 or about 1,800 more baptisms than did eight countries in Asia. This is a time of conversion, a time of reckoning in Asia.

I was very happy to have the opportunity of laboring in the Philippines Mission. The Philippines are listed as the only Christian nation, perhaps with a big question mark, in all of Asia. Exposed to Catholicism since the time of Magellan in about 1521, the Philippines are typical of all South American, Spanish American, Central American Catholic cultures where 10-15 percent of the people hold practically all the wealth, and 85 percent or 90 percent hold very little. A country of 37 million people, largely Malasian in background, they got nothing from Spain in four hundred years except Catholicism and mixed-up languages, not even the Spanish language. We have almost no call for a Spanish Book of Mormon in the Philippines today, only two or three in three years. It is a polyglot country comprising about 80 different dialects.

In 1898 the Philippines became a protectorate of the U.S., which gave them a national language, English. America gave them schools, government, and most of all the Church. And certainly they are ready for the gospel. They are a people with large families, very family oriented, and very receptive to the gospel as families.

I might tell all of you also that I just got the January 1971 figures for Asia. There were 463 baptisms in Asia in January, and if you take twelve times that, it would be a little over 5,500. But I am sure it will increase. They had 19 in Hong Kong, 71 in Japan, 104 in Central Japan, 24 in East Japan, 37 in West Japan, 46 in Korea, 20 in Southeast Asia, and 142 in the Philippines. So the work goes on. There

is no change, no letup. And I hope that all of you who are studying Asian culture will know that you are on the threshold of great things in the Asian areas of the Church.

H. Grant Heaton: I'm delighted to have the opportunity to represent the China area today. I was just thinking of what transpires in a twenty-two year period of time, Spence. Spencer Palmer and I were recruits at Fort Ord together trying to make it in the army twenty-two years ago, and a great deal has happened since then. I might mention, President Rose, that you've made a serious omission. There is also a Taiwan Mission, which was just organized in January. The Southern Far East Mission, over which I presided between 1955 and 1959, had a population of 1.3 billion people. Missionary work to the Chinese first opened in 1854. Hosea Stout and two companions were stoned out of Bangkok, couldn't find any place to live in either Singapore or Hong Kong, went to Japan, and were so discouraged that they came back and reported to Brigham Young that there was no future for the Church in Asia. The next effort to open the missions in Asia was a trip made by President McKay and Brother Cannon in 1921 as part of a worldwide trip. President McKay dedicated China for the preaching of the gospel and returned and reported to the First Presidency that the conditions of that country were so chaotic that he didn't recommend that any work be done until they had handled their own internal civil struggles.

In 1949 Matthew Cowley, Hilton Robertson, and Henry Aki were sent there to open the first mission. I was called as a young missionary at that time, and our destination was Canton, which is in the southern province of China. Before we could make it there, the Communists had bombed the bridge, and we weren't permitted to land until we returned to Hong Kong. The mission headquarters was established in Hong Kong, and we were there for about fourteen months, during which time the refugees were pouring out of China into Hong Kong. When the Korean War broke out and it was thought that Hong Kong was threatened by the Communists, the mission, known as the Chinese Mission, was disbanded.

In July of 1955, President Joseph Fielding Smith was assigned to restructure the missions in Asia. The missions

were divided into the Northern Far East and the Southern Far East missions. The Southern Far East Mission at that time included Guam, all of China, Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Singapore, India, and everything in between. In the process of the next five years, as I mentioned, we were effectively in control of communications with people in all these areas. I had a map on my wall in the office in Hong Kong onto which I would put a pin whenever we got a new baptismal record in, and on that baptismal record it would list the place of birth. We had members of the Church from every major city in China, from Tibet, from up in the Russian Steppes, and from Mongolia. We had them from northern parts of India, from Burma, and from Indonesia. We had people joining the Church in Hong Kong and Formosa, covering the entire area of Asia.

A unique feature of the Southern Far East Mission is that the success of the mission had practically nothing to do with the people involved, that is, the missionaries going there. There is a scripture in the Book of Isaiah that says in the last days Israel will be gathered. One of a city and two of a family will be brought to Zion. We saw that scripture literally fulfilled. Our missionaries went over there in 1965. We didn't have anything printed in Chinese, no Articles of Faith, no song books, no Book of Mormon, no Bible, no tracts, nothing. I listened to elders try to give the lessons; I wrote the lessons in Chinese, and I still couldn't understand them; and yet people started coming into the Church. By 1967 the Southern Far East Mission led all missions in the Church in convert baptisms per missionary. People literally came into the Church, having already been selected for that role. A refiner's fire had already taken place. These people had been in turmoil for the last twenty years. They had lived in chaos; they had lived under threats of their lives; they had a chance to live under communism and refused that chance. These were people who first of all refused to abide a Communist existence. In my mind that choice can be considered a partial explanation for their coming into the Church. They moved into Hong Kong when the conditions were favorable for teaching the gospel to them. We didn't have to worry about people being away from home at work so they couldn't listen to the missionaries. They didn't have any jobs. They had nothing to do. The

missionaries would often spend all day with them. We established a missionary program that required that they complete twenty-three weeks of missionary studies. We had set programs and our people were very energetic in listening to the gospel and learning it. Most of those who continued more than four or five weeks of study joined the Church.

I had the chance to teach one class, and I didn't intend to baptize any of them. It was a mistake, I thought, getting into that class. Among that group were eleven former generals of the Chinese army, two governors of provinces, and four university presidents. As far as I was concerned, they were not receptive to the gospel, but I had an obligation to complete the twenty-three-week program. When the twenty-three weeks were up, I gave my little farewell speech, and I could immediately tell that there was some hostility in the group. I couldn't imagine what that hostility was. I'd been polite. I couldn't remember saying anything wrong in Chinese, but you never can tell. And I worried about this, so afterward I said, "There appears to be some kind of problem here. Could you explain to me what the problem is?" A spokesman stood up and said, "You haven't asked us to be baptized."

Out of the forty-three people in that class, forty-two joined the Church. Five of them later filled full-time missions and three of them are now serving in branch and district presidencies over there.

These people had already made up their minds to do something different from what they were doing. They didn't know anything about Mormonism to begin with, but Mormonism answered many of their problems. As a basic example: One time, we held a testimony meeting and took our little hike up into the mountains as is customary over there, and everyone all got up and expressed his delight in the gospel and that he liked this way of life. But one man in that group exemplified, I think, what they all felt and what I heard a hundred or more times. He said, "Years ago I was impressed that Christianity was the answer to my particular needs and the needs of China; so I joined a Christian church. And I made the sincere effort in my youth to learn about that church and to adhere to its doctrine. I would attend church and try to assimilate and put into practice everything they told me. Suddenly it dawned on

me that the first time I went into that church they told me, 'You're a sinner. You must repent.' And after I had gone to that church for eighteen months, the message continued the same—I was still a sinner. They hadn't accomplished a thing in my life. I went to another church and to another and to another, and I found the same thing happening. No matter how much effort I put forth I was always declared a sinner. The Mormon Church is the first one that's been able to convince me that I'm a sinner and then tell me how to overcome it."

We had hundreds of people who came into the Church because they found in the gospel, not an intellectual answer to a question, but an answer to a deep-seated question that they had been bothered with for many years. Because of the lack of language, the lack of translated materials, and our inadequacy in teaching, we couldn't implant a sophisticated knowledge of the gospel in those people. But they didn't stop with what we had to teach them. I listened to sermons in testimony meetings and conversations by members of the Church that far exceeded our teaching of them. They taught back to us principles of the gospel that were instilled in them spiritually. I would like to conclude basically by saying that we have a unique situation, maybe not unique in Hong Kong, or in Taiwan—it might occur in all of Asia—but we do have a situation where the Lord has carried the burden. Young missionaries who neither knew the gospel nor could explain it in Chinese would go into houses and homes to teach the gospel, and the product was a deep-seated conversion on the part of educated, sophisticated people. That program is still going on. Because of it and because the Lord is actually engaged in the lives of individual people there as well as here, the future of missionary work in Asia is unlimited.

ADNEY Y. KOMATSU: I am very grateful for the opportunity that has been given me to participate on this panel. I would like to recognize Duane Anderson, who offered the invocation today. I think I'm here because of him. That statement comes from the fact that I followed in his footsteps in Japan, where he created a great program of the Church. We now have some four or five chapels to be dedicated in that country,

but he had started some of this work. I can't say enough of him and the groundwork he laid.

The mission in Japan started in 1901. On February 14 the First Presidency, in announcing the creation of a Japanese Mission, appointed Elder Heber J. Grant, who was then an apostle, to be the mission president. President Grant and four companions landed in Yokohama in August of 1901; then, later, in September, on a little hill overlooking Yokohama City, they dedicated the land. And, as was stated by the moderator, the work of the mission because of native customs, language, idealogy, because of persecutions, hostilities, and other things, met with little success. In 1923, when President Grant was then the Church President, he decided to close the mission. There were only about 150 converts during this twenty-three-year period. In 1936, however, the First Presidency again announced that the Japanese Mission would be reopened, but this time in Hawaii, where at that time over half of the population was Japanese. So they established the work among the Japanese in Hawaii, and, in the spring of 1937, President Hilton A. Robertson, who was the last mission president in Japan in 1924 when the mission was closed, was called again to become mission president. He opened the mission in Hawaii in 1937. The work progressed until 1947 when the Japanese Mission was closed in Hawaii, and the First Presidency announced again that they would reopen the mission in Japan. President Edward L. Clissold, who then was in the stake presidency, the mission presidency, and also the temple presidency, was called to preside over the Japanese Mission. He landed in Japan on March 6, 1948, to prepare the way for the missionaries. The first group of five missionaries included the two Price brothers, Harrison T. Price, who's now in the American Consulate in Hong Kong, and Raymond Price, who's with Pan American Air Lines in Honolulu; Wayne P. McDaniel of Alpine, Utah; Kooji Okauchi; and Paul C. Andrus, who later became mission president in Japan. In 1962 the first ground breaking for a chapel in Asia was conducted. This was the second ward in Tokyo, the former North Branch. In 1968 the Northern Far East Mission was replaced by the Japan Mission with headquarters in Tokyo, running from Tokyo north, and the Japan-Okinawa Mission to the south.

A year later, on March 15, 1970, the Tokyo Stake was organized, the first in Asia. On March 18, the Japan-Okinawa Mission was replaced by two more missions: The Japan Central Mission in the former Osaka area and the Japan West Mission was split again, and now we have what is called the Japan East Mission running north from Sendai to Hokkaido. At present there are four missions, one stake, and about four-teen thousand members in Japan. When I left there in July of 1968, there were about ten thousand members. Thus, in three years we have already had an increase of four thousand members. According to Brother Rose we have about 545 mis-sionaries laboring in these four missions as of December 30, 1970. I'm sure that number has increased since then. In our time, it was one mission, and the most we had was 257 missionaries. That's when we had to take in ten mission-aries from Hong Kong. We usually averaged about 225 missionaries and 500 baptisms a year. Presently, with the four missions, as Brother Rose just announced, there were 1,944 convert baptisms in 1970. So you can see the increase, not only in missionary strength but also in the baptisms that are taking place now in the Orient.

Among the interesting highlights of those missions is the 1965 excursion to the Hawaiian Temple organized under the leadership of President Anderson for the Japanese saints. This has had a great impetus for the members to dedicate their lives to the goal of entering the House of the Lord. Since 1965 we've had excursions in 1967, 1969, and 1970, including one group which came to the Salt Lake Temple. We're also planning one in the summer of 1971. At present over 800 people have entered the House of the Lord, and these are the 800 members that had taken out their endow-ments. We've actually had a total of 966 members go through the House of the Lord by way of the number of seats that were occupied on the plane that we chartered.

We also created in Japan the translation distribution center during the time I was there. I know that Bishop Victor Brown and Brother Thomas Fyans came over one time and discussed the possibility of creating a translation department right there in Tokyo, spearheading all of the work throughout the Orient. President Kan Watanabe, of the Japan West Mission, was appointed manager of this particular

distribution center. Later, other centers were established in Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Then, of course, the all-important Expo '70 was created. For six months we had a tremendous number of Japanese people visiting the Expo grounds, including the Mormon Pavilion. I understand from President Okazaki that over six million people went through the Church exhibit. From this Expo so many referrals have come that it's hard to believe that missionaries don't have to knock on doors anymore; they just get a slip of paper and keep on going. There are so many people on the list waiting to be taught the gospel that there is no time to go from house to house.

I have been through Japan since last July in my new assignment as Regional Representative of the Twelve for the Tokyo Stake, and I can testify to you that this stake is also growing. It's hard to believe that the Yokohama Ward is talking about splitting. They have over two hundred members coming out to Church every Sunday and they're worrying that the building is not able to hold all these members.

I'm sure that we have in Japan many things that are very harmonious to the gospel. The Japanese are very hard-working people, and they always work for what they get. I would say they compare to a swarm of ants crawling around that never stop. They're always moving. They're very industrious in all that they do. Also they are people who keep good genealogical records. This again is something that goes hand in hand with the gospel. In a Japanese family we have the patriarchal order of the father and the son carried on. I'm sure that the gospel has a great future in Japan and that the work being done now is not just because of what we have done, but the Lord had intended that His children in that area should receive the fulness and the blessings of the gospel that he has in store for those who will be faithful.

SPENCER J. PALMER: At the outset I'd like to recognize at least one special guest in attendance here this afternoon. Brother Orton, would you please stand? Kenneth Orton of The Church College of Hawaii flew in this morning from Honolulu in order to participate in our East-West Week activities. He is president of the Language Training Mission

of the Church for the Asian missions. We are honored to have him here.

As I have listened to these excellent reports by Presidents Rose, Heaton, and Komatsu, three vibrant pervasive themes are evident. First, in recent years the Church has begun to break from its Western orientation and is fulfilling its destiny as a truly worldwide Church. Second, war and revolution have somehow presented new opportunities for the Church in Asia and throughout the world. Third, sometimes despite the missionaries and their less than perfect preparation to cope with language, culture, and people, the work of the Lord has gone forth admirably. And that's certainly the case also in Korea.

When Grant Heaton and I were there together as GIs in the early 1950s, Korea was dejected, in a terribly dislocated state socially, economically, politically, and spiritually as were Japan, the Philippines, and other countries of Asia. It may yet one day be said that Zion's midwives in Asia were tribulation and pain. The first Mormon missionaries were combat GIs, who baptized the first Mormon converts, Korean friends with whom they associated or worked in the various military camps. Without any Korean Church scriptures or literature of any kind, only with love in their hearts and a sincere desire to help the people, they touched the hearts of many Koreans and caused them to respond to the messages of the gospel.

The first Korean convert to the LDS Church was a Ph.D. candidate at Cornell University, who shortly after his baptism gained his doctorate. This was Dr. Hojik Kim, who later returned to Korea where he occupied important political and social positions. He was the first anchor of the Mormon faith in Korea. Much of the early growth can be explained in terms of his influence. He gathered many young university students around him. Church membership in Korea has remained, by and large, an educationally-oriented community. I think it could be verified that of all the missions in Asia we have more college graduates who are active in the Mormon faith in Korea than in any other. This has been one of the distinguishing features of the Korean Mission from the beginning.

The first baptisms in Korea were in August of 1952 at Songdo near Pusan. The next major event was in 1954, when

President Harold B. Lee under assignment from the First Presidency toured Korea and recommended that it be opened officially for missionary work. The next year President Joseph Fielding Smith dedicated Korea for the teaching of the gospel. He blessed that land that the power of evil might be dispelled and that the people might be able to rehabilitate themselves and their country.

The first Mormon missionaries came to Korea in April of 1956. These included Elders Richard Detton and Don G. Powell, among others. Gail E. Carr, who was one of the early missionaries, later became the first mission president. He was an indefatigable pioneer who laid a wonderful groundwork. He presided between 1962 and 1965. I succeeded him and worked between 1965 and 1968. Robert H. Slover is now the president and has been there since August 1968. Under President Slover's able leadership the mission has gone forward with extraordinary success in baptisms, in branches, in buildings, and in many other ways.

Now let me say something about the distinctive features of the Korean Mission. We now have about a hundred missionaries there, triple the number when I started out as president. As I've said, it's a young mission. It's relatively small. They're reaching 5,000 members in the mission comprised of four districts, two in the capital city and two elsewhere in the south. The mission is one of the more successful Church missions in many ways, and one of the more unusual. President Rose has already mentioned that Korea, next to the Philippines, has the largest convert per missionary rate in Asia, eight baptisms per missionary per year. I understand it is the only mission in the whole Church which still baptizes more men than women, and this has tremendous implications and prospects for the future. Male priesthood leadership is essential to the establishment of a stable Mormon society. Education and priesthood leadership are the fundamental pillars upon which we can expect to build a wonderful future for the Church in Korea. Many prophecies, many inspirational promises have been made with respect to the future of the Korean Mission.

An additional reason heretofore for the remarkable success of the mission has been the fact that the Koreans are generally very pro-American. Although this Church is trying anxiously to reach universal, worldwide fulfillment, still we

are an American-based institution. Most of our missionaries in Korea are American citizens. Generally this has been a great advantage because of all the friends of the United States, the Koreans are the greatest friends the Americans have anywhere overseas. This helps the Church greatly. It has been prophesied that tens of thousands of Koreans will join The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints within our time. I'm sure we'll have a stake in Seoul in the near future if the people continue to work for it.

I feel confident that the Mormon people are only now beginning to understand the opportunities and problems that this multicultural, multinational, multiracial kingdom of God can expect to meet in the years just ahead. By reaching out so far, we are bringing into the Church many new influences and insights which should help us to see more clearly the mind and will of the Lord in these latter days.

BRITSCH: We would like now to turn our attention in a slightly different direction. This is to have some interchange between the mission presidents concerning some of the problems and prospects they see in the Asian missions. One question I would like to ask Adney Komatsu just to get the discussion moving: why are we succeeding in Asia now when we didn't years ago?

KOMATSU: I think primarily, as brother Palmer has said, World War II has had a lot to do with it, especially the occupation of Japan. In Japan where the American troops were stationed, they actually Americanized Japanese thinking to a great extent. Many individual servicemen brought new liberal thinking to the Japanese people. The people of Japan, as part of a defeated country, recognized the fact that they were facing a new way of life, especially in the democratic expression of things. This made current missionary work much easier than that of the missionaries of the early 1900s, who encountered a Japanese people who had their own way of life, their own customs, and who just wouldn't listen to foreigners.

BRITSCH: Does anyone want to comment on that?

ROSE: I think the same thing happened in the Philippines. The occupation there by foreign powers brought the people to their knees in humility. They were prepared by other nations, through their suffering and by the Church now being able to supply the things of the spirit and the soul to them. As bad as war is, they were prepared by it for the gospel.

BRITSCH: Do you have questions you would like to direct towards each other?

PALMER: I would like to direct a question particularly to President Komatsu. Some members of our Church in the United States feel a sense of tension between their loyalty to their own culture and their own history, their own unique Americanism, and their commitment to a universal worldwide Church. The problem is trying to feel as emotionally committed to a universal kingdom as to the Church in the Rocky Mountains or the United States. Now, I've often wondered about the extent to which this is a problem in reverse for Asian converts to the Church. What kind of Mormons do we produce in Japan or in Korea or among the Chinese? Do they not also experience a sense of tension between a commitment to their own history, culture, and people, on the one hand, and to the values and teachings of the universal Church? Do they face serious dilemmas in trying to distinguish between what may really be foreign American things and what is perennial and universal truth?

KOMATSU: In Japan the majority of converts are younger people. Naturally, the older people have their own customs and habits. There's a great problem, especially in the Word of Wisdom area. But those who do overcome this problem become strong members. As far as the traditions and customs that the Japanese have, I'm sure this is a problem. Yet I have heard President Hugh B. Brown come into Japan and preach that this is not the Church of the Japanese, the Germans, the Norwegians, or the Hawaiians, but this is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for all men. If we teach the gospel on that basis, despite the tensions which do exist, or however different cultural backgrounds may be,

it can be assimilated so that Asians will become good members of the Church.

PALMER: As a Nisei mission president in Japan did you have problems of self-identification? That is, did you feel one day I'm a Japanese, the next day, I'm a citizen of the United States, and, the next day, I'm a Mormon? Did you sometimes feel like an American in disguise in Japan?

KOMATSU: If I didn't open my mouth in Japan, they could have taken me as a Japanese, but the moment I opened my mouth they recognized that the accent is a little different from what they normally speak. In Japanese we say Big Shibai. We put on a big show and try to overcome this, but there is a definite difference there. I did feel like what Brother Palmer is mentioning. Even though I didn't have the command of the Japanese language, and yet looked Japanese, when I went to a store to get my hair cut or something, I couldn't fully express myself. I'm sure that the man behind the counter was saying "What kind of a fancy Jack has come out from way down yonder to these Japanese Islands." As I got better acquainted with the language and gained more confidence in speaking, of course, I used my head more and didn't open my mouth as much.

HEATON: I think this problem had some particular evidence in Hong Kong, and it depended on how culturally stable the individuals were. You mentioned in Korea that you had largely men joining the Church. At our first district conference in 1956, we had 642 people. Eleven of them were women; all the rest of them were men and these men were adults. They were culturally stable, culturally secure, and they didn't want to become Americans. They made it very clear that they weren't buying our Americanism, but somehow or another we had to separate the gospel as a way of life and Americanism as a way of life. It became evident in 1957 when the news that Federal troops went into Arkansas and the first civil rights demonstration reached us. We had to move missionaries out of eight or nine of the villages. They said come back Sunday, but don't be here during the week. The Chinese empathized with the problem of the black people in Little Rock, and a

strong anti-American wave ensued. This is something that happened periodically all the time we were there. There would be a crisis in the United States that hit the headlines and the older people would tend to ally themselves in an anti-American position; and yet it didn't jeopardize their testimonies or effect their Church participation, except that they really felt uncomfortable having Americans coming into their homes and villages while there was an anti-American sentiment there. But they said, "Don't leave us alone." Later on, as younger people came into the Church and as the number of people coming in were relatively unstable culturally, that is, they didn't identify as much with their own native culture, then there tended to be a kind of attempt to Americanize themselves. I think a lot of the appeal of the gospel to the younger generation is its American flavor, but not so with the older people.

ROSE: I somewhat agree and somewhat disagree with what has been said as it relates to the situation in the Philippines because the difficulty we found was with the activists, the young students, not with the older people. The older people had great love and great admiration for that which had been given to them as an American colony, I expect. And the trouble we had was with the young activist students at the University of Manila and other schools. But through it all, I think that the Filipino members have accepted the universality of the Church very well, and only when some missionary got out of order did we have trouble. When missionaries there were humble and carried their testimonies throughout their daily lives, we had no proplems. I'm happy that more and more we have local missionaries to help with this situation. Generally, I do not feel this cleavage between "an American Church" and "a Philippine Church" is a serious problem. It is a worldwide Church for most of the people.

BRITSCH: I have a certain amount of experience with the Asian students as president of the Asian branch here on campus, and I've found on several occasions that there have been great cleavages between doing what the Church would suggest and doing what parents would suggest. For instance, I've tried to call or initiate calls to mission fields among several of the young men, and the usual answer or frequent

answer is, "My parents don't want me to go now. I think I'd better obey what my parents tell me." Family trouble of that kind is rather common in interviewing for missions.

HEATON: I think the problem you are talking about is not unique to Asian people. We had a young man who wanted to join the Church and couldn't, and he became the most active member in our Church before he was baptized. I think he's here on the BYU campus. But you see, he persevered, he kept at it. He was convinced that as long as his desires were right, as long as he was active in the Church, he didn't need baptism until he could work it out, and he worked it out. The problem isn't unique to Asia. I worked as a seminary coordinator in the Northwest. We had the same problem—parents not wanting their kids to attend seminary, not wanting them to get up in the mornings, not wanting them to go on missions. And so it's not an Asian problem. It happens to be a worldwide problem of different degrees of religious enthusiasm. Where you find the child is spiritually devoted and his parents are not, there is a conflict, whether he's Asian, European, or whatever he is.

KOMATSU: I want to say something about the young people in Japan. Because many of them come from a Buddhist background and their parents don't understand Christian theology, their joining the Church may be compared to the situations in the States where one of our sons might say, "I'm going to be a Moslem," or "I'm going to join some other foreign religion." We would be all shook up. I've faced this in my own home because my parents are Buddhists. When I told my mother that I wanted to join the Mormon Church and be baptized, she cried out, "Oh, I've lost my son!" She was a widow, and she had promised her husband that she would raise their children honorably in the Buddhist religion. But in the Buddhist religion we never went to church. And I didn't know anything about Buddhism except that my parents were followers of its teachings. This is the same thing in Japan to a great extent. So I've counseled the young people to follow the same psychology I used on my mother on their parents by saying, "Mother, would you like to have a bad Buddhist or a good Mormon? As long as I go to the Mormon Church and I become a good person, one

that you can be proud of, one without any sins or problems with the world, and avoid being a boy of the streets, wouldn't you be happy to have me as your son?" I said, "I make you a promise, the moment one of your girl friends in your church comes back and says that your number two son is a terrible son, all you have to say is to quit the Mormon Church and I'll obey. But as long as you can't make that comment I will go." She said, "It's a deal." So I joined the Church. And I think many young children back in Japan are finding this because they come from a Buddhist background in which the parents are not acquainted with Christianity.

BRITSCH: This is interesting and insightful. I would like to ask a question of all four of you, and you can take it in any order starting with Dr. Palmer. Spencer, what in your opinion could we be doing to move the work along a little faster and make it more successful? Then we'll have Brother Komatsu and the other two brethren respond to the same question.

PALMER: When I went to Korea in 1965, I soon realized that a pressing need of all the Asian missions, in addition to the obvious need of leadership development, was to make the Church better known. I studied and prayed often on what could be done to enable the Church to exercise a significant impact within the native society rather than existing as a separated, sometimes quaint, hothouse entity, a collecting place for social refugees. I wanted to know what could be done to establish an institutional base within the native society. I decided as a beginning that the mission should become concerned with the native flow of life, the beliefs of the people, holidays, customs, and traditions. We all resolved to make Mormons and Mormonism better known in the Korean society at large. We made an energetic effort, and I hope that it was partly successful, to meet some of the leaders of the people, particularly the parents and the fathers of the families, but also the mayors of the cities, and other local officials. I visited with educators and presidents of universities where our Mormon converts were enrolled. We translated the Spoken Word of the Tabernacle Choir broadcast into the Korean language and arranged to have the entire choir program broadcast over nationwide radio, no

doubt the only place where this program has been made available in Asia in the language of the people. This is but one example of ways in which the missionaries made a wonderful effort to introduce the gospel to the public at large. We also placed maximum emphasis on using native members in missionary work and in leading the branches and auxiliaries. The foreign elders were there to help and to bless, but we made it clear that it was the Korean Mission of the Lord's Church.

KOMATSU: I think one of the ways that the work can move faster in Japan is through closer communication between the headquarters of the Church in Salt Lake City and the mission field. I'm very happy that I am now the regional representative for the Tokyo Stake so that I can carry back into that stake information, methods of operation, the expertise of the different Church committees, the know how. In the mission field we don't get this. We're pretty much on our own. And sometimes I think as the missions spread, as they grow in Japan in the four areas, if a little closer coordination can be given to these men, the kind of help that the stakes receive, I'm sure the work will go that much faster, the members will become stronger, and their faith will increase.

ROSE: I think that what Brother Palmer mentioned is extremely important, that we're at an age now where the work in Asia is not really a pioneering work. If somehow we could create an environment where the people are aware of the fact that they are involved, that the native members are contributing to the development of the Church, it would greatly strengthen the work.

HEATON: Can we criticize the BYU here? Is that permissible? Well, maybe the establishment of a school, a university, in Asia, where we could send students from the United States to get an education in Asia would be the most important thing that could be done. Asia has a great deal to contribute to the world, not just in religious thought, but in culture, particulary the Chinese. They have passed through five hundred years of what we're just beginning to face in population, ecology, and many of these things. They have succeeded in many regards in solving some of these problems. Now the

image, especially among LDS parents, is that if you're converted to the Church you've got to go to BYU in order to become educated, and that's not the case. I think the Church could be well served with an educational institution in Asia which would contribute to the understanding and the knowledge and the development of a worldwide Mormon culture.

ROSE: I think, like you, that if we had Church schools in Asia it would greatly help the work. If schools are good in Mexico, they're good in other areas. I feel very strongly about this. I've talked to Brother Neal Maxwell and others about this, and I think they're aware of the problem.

BRITSCH: There were people waving their hands a few minutes ago who had questions from the floor.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: In Singapore it's my understanding that last year the LDS missionaries were not able to renew their visas. Is this true?

ROSE: I guess I have talked with President Carlos Smith the most recently. We had about twelve of those missionaries come into our mission field because of not being able to renew visas. But they're doing fine. They had 50 baptisms in Singapore in January; and, while they're having difficulty, President Smith is the most patient man in the world, and the most devoted. I'm sure it's going to be worked out. The government there has been adverse. President Smith has made the comment that we made a fine conversion of a very outstanding figure in Singapore. There's a lot of jealousy over this, and I think this is one of the things that prompted them to put the lid on. We have had some religious riots between groups over there. But I think the great blessing that President Benson gave when he dedicated that land is being realized. They're more stable now than they have been for some time. It's going to improve.

HEATON: There's a very fruitful field in Communist China. It depends on whether the Communists will allow freedom of expression and freedom of travel. It would be a waste of time to send missionaries under the present restrictions. They

just opened travel into China as of this last week, and that's very restrictive. I was invited to go to Peking in 1957 as a representative of the world council of churches representing Mormonism, and the Communists invited me there, but when the American State Department found out about it, I was on the hot seat for two weeks just because I'd entertained an invitation. I didn't attempt to go.

QUESTION AND COMMENT FROM THE AUDIENCE: There are serious problems involving the Asian converts who come to the U.S. I don't know about the other missions, but of fourteen local, native missionaries that served full-time missions in Hong Kong from 1956-60, eleven of them now reside in the United States or Canada. So they're no longer much help over there. It tends to be a sort of graduating process. They serve as a full-time missionary, get a scholarship to the Church College of Hawaii or to BYU and come to the United States and live. There needs to be some way of keeping that talent in Asia to act as a leaven. I know in the branch here on campus, I would dare say 50 percent at least intend to stay here in the United States, yet some of them didn't intend to stay when they first came.

Is there something returned missionaries and others can do to help the work in Asia?

PALMER: Two things occur to me. One is to show greater brotherhood and fraternity toward these people you talked about who came here initially with the idea that they were going to return. In most cases they really had some aspiration that they were going to gain wonderful spiritual experiences and ecclesiastical training that they would take back home, but for one reason or another many of them become alienated from the Church here. We could probably reverse this tendency and get some of our people back if they could remain stable spiritually and feel as much a sense of belonging here as they felt among the relatively small, intimate groups of first-generation fellow members in their homelands. We simply fail to do as much here in the way of fellowship and brotherhood as we should. Also, we need to do more to help the programs of the Church financially. Many student groups raise money for various humanitarian projects, many of them

of very short-lived satisfaction or benefit, but I feel we don't begin to do enough in the way of sharing our resources to further the work of the Church among the less affluent membership in some of the foreign missions, including those in Asia. I can testify from experience that relatively small amounts of money given by individuals in support of local missionaries or for other equally worthy projects, often have incalculable and, I am sure, everlasting returns.

KOMATSU: I would say this to the returned missionaries. Continue the study you're involved in here at school but on a broader scope. Ten years ago, as a member of the Church, I was like a fish out of water whenever I went to the mainland of the United States, like what is this man from Japan doing in this part of the country? How come you can speak English so well and you look Japanese? Study the cultures of the Asian area, instead of just studying Japan—study China, Korea, India, and all the different nations. And as Brother Palmer has mentioned, you can more readily fellowship these Asian students as well as people in those Asian countries. It's easier to love people when you get to understand them. It's harder when you don't know who they are and why they react the way they do. The most effective members and missionaries are those who understand Asian culture.

BRITSCH: I guess that was a paid commercial for the Asian Studies Program. I think this discussion has been most enlightening. This has been one of the most outstanding panels of this kind ever held and with you I would like to express our deep appreciation.

Resources in the Church Historian's Office Relating to Asia

ROBERT H. SLOVER II*

The history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Asia is relatively brief but surprisingly well documented. The archives of the LDS Church Historian's Office (CHO) in Salt Lake City contain a wealth of materials on the Asia missions. But these have rarely been studied and have never been surveyed or indexed. Thus they have not been readily available to the researcher or the public at large.

In an effort to satisfy this basic need, this pilot survey of Asian materials in the Historian's Office is presented here.

The materials fall into six general categories: First, published books and theses, mission magazines, tracts, manuals, and missionary materials; second, various records kept by members of the Church in each country and by the Historian's Office at home; third, biographical sketches and journals of Church leaders who have been associated with Asia; fourth, original manuscript material and photographs; fifth, periodical publications which have included materials on Asia; sixth, statistical files.

I. *Published materials*

This broad category includes only three theses dealing with the Church in Asia on file: Robert C. Patch, *An Historical Overview of the Missionary Activities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Continental Asia* (1949); Murray Nicholes, *History of the Japan Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1901-1904* (1957); R.

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Lanier Britsch, *A History of the Missionary Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in India 1849-1856* (1964).

In all Asian missions there is now a unified magazine which is translated into the native languages. These include much material from the standard English publications, *The Ensign, The New Era,* and *The Friend.* The missions also publish English language missionary magazines which feature monthly statistics, events, and progress reports. (See Appendix 5.) Copies of these, as well as their earlier prototypes, are on file in the CHO.

In recent years it has been the policy of the Church to collect copies of all manuals and Church publications printed in native languages. Some of these in oriental languages are now being processed, but unfortunately most of the older materials are not on file. Missionary training materials, handbooks, guides, and language materials are catalogued with these published materials. Missions of long standing have printed lesson plans, systems for learning the missionary lessons, grammar books, and dialogues.

II. *Church records.* These constitute three major, comprehensive categories:

1. *The Journal History of the Church.* The pages consist of daily entries of newspaper clippings (mostly xeroxed in the more recent volumes), editorials, and pertinent information from the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune.* They are not limited to items relating directly to the Church, but included are the ordinations of Church officials, the organization and the reorganization of stakes and wards, and other business transacted by the General Authorities of the Church throughout the world, including Asia.

2. The *Church Chronology* contains much the same material, but omits the newspaper clippings except as they relate specifically to the Church.

Both of the above journals are extensively indexed. The *Journal History,* prior to 1870, is on microfilm, while the later material is in bound volumes. The index is kept by subjects and names.

The *Journal History* is of considerable value to the researcher in Asian Church affairs. There is, for example, in it

a section on the "East India Mission," the earliest missionary effort in Asia. This history covers the period from 1852 to 1909, and though it is part of the *Journal History* it is indexed separately.

3. By far the richest resource on the Church in Asia in the Historian's Office is the *Manuscript History of the Church.* This is a compilation of mission, branch, district, stake, and ward histories prepared by clerks and recorders in the field and sent in periodically to Salt Lake City. These records are kept in either English or the native language. (Until the late 1960s these records were all kept in English. Since that time they have been kept in the native languages.) All records for any one organized Church unit are stored together. That is, all the records of the Philippine Mission are kept in one volume, while the records of any one branch within that mission are kept in a separate volume. Mission histories, also incorporated into the *Manuscript History,* are submitted yearly and include a record of all mission business (missionary transfers, changes in officers, etc., a record of officers sustained at the various conferences, clippings, and pictures). These records are kept by either the mission president or his recorder, and they are signed by the president. They are kept on a daily basis, and are often detailed. These records tend to report facts without much concern for analysis, impressions, or description. They tend to center around the activities of the mission president and his staff and often omit events removed from the mission home. Nevertheless, they are probably the best source available for the daily happenings of the mission. On a local level, each branch clerk keeps a record for his branch which he submits on a yearly basis. These forms include changes in officers, historical events, and occasionally some description of branch trends and attitudes. The quality of the report depends, of course, entirely on the branch clerk who wrote it.

III. *Journals and Biographies*

Several early leaders and members of the Church concerned with Asia wrote daily journals which are now on file at the CHO. These journals are listed in Appendix 2. Several of the Presidents of the Church have been personally involved in Asian mission history. Their works prove valuable

for a variety of research needs. President Heber J. Grant's journal is available, as are some of the journals of President David O. McKay. The researcher must obtain permission before he is allowed to use the journals, and no journals of living persons are made available. Other notable journals include those of Alma O. Taylor, one of the first missionaries to Japan and first translator of the *Book of Mormon* into Japanese; Matthew McCune, one of the leaders of the early work in India; and Levi Savage, early missionary to Thailand (then Siam).

In addition to these complete journals kept by individuals and donated to the CHO, two archives contain a number of useful and pertinent short biographical sketches. They are indexed in a separate biographical index.

IV. *Periodicals*

These have been available on open shelves near the main desk. There is an index to periodicals up to 1950. The periodicals indexed include:

Millennial Star
Evening and Morning Star
Liahona
Times and Seasons
Conference Reports
Journal of Discourses
Salt Lake Tribune
Deseret News
Relief Society Magazine
Ensign
Dialogue
Contributor
Improvement Era
Messenger and Advocate
Young Women's Journal
New Era
Children's Friend
The Friend
BYU Studies
Juvenile Instructor

Entries on Asia sometimes appear in unlikely sources. For example, the *Millennial Star* abounds in material on the early missions in South and East Asia since these missions officially came under the auspices of the British Mission. A complete description and analysis of materials available in these periodicals is badly needed.

V. *Statistical Files*

These provide useful data on memberships, births, deaths, and on immigration to the United States by members of the Church, missionaries who have served for the Church, includ-

ing setting apart and release dates, and terms of labor. There is a partriarchal blessings file, which gives lineage, includes the date of the blessing and the name of the patriarch.

VI. *Manuscripts and Pictures*

In many ways these are the most exciting and valuable materials in the Historian's Office. Their index includes not only manuscripts but also extensive collections of photographs, tapes, and films. The manuscript index file covers some biographies as well as excerpts from conference reports. For example, Elder Gordon B. Hinkley's name is found in this index, and under his name is a listing of all the reports that he has given in the various general conferences.

Materials in the manuscript file are listed in Appendix 4. Random examples of the types of materials found here are: a report by Elders Ezra Taft Benson and Bruce R. McConkie on their visit in October 1969 to Indonesia with information on the land and their impressions of the people there; all of President McKay's available papers from 1907 to 1969 (on microfilm); extracts from the journal of Matthew McCune on his life in Rangoon and Calcutta, and a set of letters from Henry McCune from Calcutta to President John Taylor concerning the unreadiness of the people of that area to accept the gospel; mission papers from some of the Asian missions, and letters from some of the mission presidents; accounts of the first temple trips from Japan and Korea to Hawaii and Utah; a motion picture of a visit of Elder Hugh B. Brown to Korea; and President Heber J. Grant's correspondence describing his Japanese Mission experience. In short, there are many primary source materials which invite study and attention. Photographs are indexed in the manuscript file, but the index on photographs is yet unfinished.

APPENDIX I: PUBLISHED WORKS

JAPAN MISSION 1901-1924:

Grant, Heber J. *A Japanese Journal.* Compiled by Gordon A. Madsen, 1970. M270.1 g762g.*

Nichols, Murray L. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Japan 1901-1924.* Brigham Young University, 1957. M275.2 N621n.

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*The numbers at the end of each entry refer to CHO card catalogue call numbers.

———. *Missionary Daily Record Book* (unpaged). AJ M256.4 J353m.

———. *From Plowboy to Prophet.* Tokyo, 1920. A short history of the Prophet Joseph Smith for young people. Res. M270.2, M889f.

———. *Matsu Jitsu Seito Sanbika.* Tokyo, 1905. A hymnal of sixty-six numbers compiled by Horace Ensign and Frederick A. Caine. Res. M285.2 J35.

———. *Sanbika.* Tokyo 1915. Revised hymnal, leatherbound. Res. M285.2 J35.

———. *Matsu Jitsu Seito Sanbika.* Tokyo, 1916. Revised hymnal. Res. M285.2 Ala J.

CENTRAL PACIFIC MISSION (in Hawaii) 1937-1948:

1937. *Hattatsu* (*The Progress*). English and Japanese. P M205.5 P9647J.

1940. Minutes of the Oahu Stake, Hawaiian and Japanese Missions' General MIA Conference. Pq M257.44 011.

1940. *The Kakaaka Reporter,* April 1940-January 1944. A missionary bulletin of the Japan Mission in Hawaii. Res. M205.5 J355a.

1945. *The Spearhead,* May 1945-March 1946. A missionary bulletin of the Japan Mission in Hawaii. Res. M205.5 C397a.

JAPAN MISSION 1948-1955:

1950. *Missionary Plan: Dialogue in Japanese.* Tokyo, 1950. Res. q M256.4 J357mj.

1950. *American Fashion Show.* Tokyo. Information for investigators in English and Japanese. Pq M256.4 J 357aJ.

1950. *L.D.S. Messenger,* December 1950-May 1957. A missionary bulletin in Japanese. Res. M205.5 L362J.

1951. *Morumon Monogatari* (*The Mormon Story*). Tokyo. Booklet in English and Japanese. P M200 J357 mJ.

1953. *Sunday School Guide,* January 1953-November 1960. A Sunday School bulletin issued in English and Japanese. Res. M205.5 n874s.

1953. *The Grapevine,* August 1953-December 1957. A missionary bulletin. Res. M205.5 J357a.

1953. *MIA Leader,* September 1953-November 1960. An MIA bulletin issued in Japanese. Res. M205.5 N874m.

1954. *The Children Sing.* Tokyo. 086.9489.

1954. *Missionary Conference Reports*: 1954-1955. Tokyo. P M204.5 J357m.

GENERAL:

Palmer, Spencer J. *The Church Encounters Asia.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970. M275 P 176c.

Palmer, Spencer J. *Mormonism—A Message for All Nations.* Brigham Young University, 1971. Pq M230.1 P176m.

NORTHERN FAR EAST MISSION 1955-1968:

1956. *Katei To Keno.* Tokyo. A Relief Society manual. M257.26 AlJ.

1956. *Our Standard Works.* Tokyo. Sunday School lessons in Japanese. 086.9486.

1956. *Growing Spiritually.* Tokyo. Sunday School lessons in Japanese. 086.9486.

1956. *Distinguishing Beliefs and Practices of the Japanese.* Sunday School lessons in Japanese. 086.948.

1956. *Life of Christ.* Tokyo. Sunday School lessons in Japanese. 086.9486.

1956. *Relief Society Handbook of Instructions.* Tokyo. Pq M257.22 N874h.

1956. *MIA Executive Manual,* 1956-1957 (also available for 1957-60). Tokyo. Pq M257.42 E96J.

1957. *The Book of Mormon.* Tokyo. 186.942.

1957. *The Triple Combination.* Tokyo. 086.942.

1957. *Seito No Michi,* 1957-. A mission magazine in Japanese. Res. M205.5 S462J.

1957. *Northern Honshu and Hokkaido District Newsletter,* April 1957. A servicemen's bulletin. Res. M205.93 N874.

1957. *Gospel Fundamentals for New Investigators.* Tokyo. English and Japanese. Res. M257.36 AlJ.

1958. *Success Messenger,* January 1958-. A missionary bulletin. Res. M205.5 N874a.

1958. *Combination Reference.* Tokyo. A combination reference for the standard works. 086.945.

1958. *Recreational Songs.* Tokyo. 086.9489.

1958. *Shojuki* (*Missionary Cookbook*). Edited by Frances Andrus and Carol Rae Brown. P M256.4 N874s.

1960. *Yoji Muki Seisho Monogatari* (*Bible Stories for Children*). Tokyo. Pq M257.36 AlJ.

1962. *Morumon Kyokai Eno Tebiki.* Tokyo. An introductory tract. P M256.4 N874mJ.

1962. *Anata Ni Otstae Suru Kotoba.* Tokyo. A doctrinal tract. P M230 N874aJ.

1963. *The Inter-Islander,* September 1963-June 1964. A servicemen's bulletin. Res. M205.93 I611.

Orton, Kenneth J. Sokka Gakai: *Religio-political Power in Contemporary Japan.* Brigham Young University, 1964. Res. 299 078s M.

McCune, George M. *Testimony.* BYU Press, 1967. A transcription of missionary testimonies and speeches of mission presidents and General Authorities in the Northern Far East Mission from 1963 to 1965.

———. Pamphlets in Japanese (six). 086.945.

———. *Shitosha No Kiso Chishiki* (*Drama Handbook*). Tokyo. P M257.42 N874eJ.

———. *Kaishusha Kaku Toku No Tebiki* (*Teaching the Conversion Principles*). Tokyo. Lesson materials. P.M256.4 N874tJ.

———. *Suggested Work Meeting Activities.* Tokyo. Relief Society materials. Pfo M257.2 N874s.

JAPAN MISSION 1948- :

1968. *Service Messenger,* September 1968- . A missionary bulletin. Res. M205.5 J35a.

1969. *Missionary Plans-Japanese.* Tokyo. P M 256.1 C561uJ.

1969. *Missionary Handbook.* Tokyo. P M256.4 J353mh.

1969. *After Babtism Lessons*: Teacher's Handbook. Tokyo. Dialogues are in Japanese and English. Includes a new members' handbook. P M246.5 J353aJ.

1969. *The Light of the Sun—Japan and the Saints.* Tokyo. A history of the Japanese missions. M275.2 J353l.

JAPAN-OKINAWA MISSION (Japan Central Mission) 1968- :

1968. *The Rising Sun,* November 1968- . A missionary bulletin. Res. M205.5 J353a.

1969. *To Become a Golden Harvester?* May 1969 Kiniki Missionary Conference. Pq M204.6 J35t.

JAPAN EAST MISSION 1970- :

1970. *Pioneer,* August 1970- . A missionary bulletin. M205.5 J346a.

JAPAN WEST MISSION 1970- :

1970. *Golden Horizons,* June 1970- . A missionary bulletin. M205.5 J354a.

1970. *Missionary Handbook.* Fukuoka. P M256.4 J354mJ.

EARLY CHINA MISSIONS:

Patch, Robert C. *An Historical Overview of the Missionary Activities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Continental Asia.* Brigham Young University, 1949. M275 P294h.

Stout, Wayne D. *Hosea Stout, Utah's Pioneer Statesman.* Salt Lake City, 1953. Res. M270.1 S889s.

SOUTHERN FAR EAST MISSION 1955-1968:

1955. *Jen Sheng Te Mu Ti* (*The Purpose of Life*). Taipei. P M233 S7284pC.

1955. *Sheng Ti En T'zu—Yung Sheng* (*Gift of God—Eternal Life*). Taipei. P M233 S7284Sc.

1955. *Wan Shih Te Fu Shin* (*Restoration of All Things*). Taipei. P M273.2 S7284wC.

1955. *Yu Fu Tsung Te I Ca Fu* (*Obedience and Blessings*). Taipei. P M233 S7284yC.

1956. *Southern Far East Bulletin,* September 1956-December 1960. A missionary bulletin in English and Cantonese to December 1958, then in English only. Res. M205.5 S7284aC.

1957. *Southern Far East Mission Proselyting Plan.* Compiled by H. Grant Heaton. Hong Kong. Res. M356.4 S7284pC.

1958. *Our Guide to Eternal Life.* Hong Kong District: Tri-district

Conference for Kowloon, Hong Kong, and the New Territories. In English and Cantonese. Res. qM204.6 S7284oC.
1958. *Ward Teaching Messages.* Hong Kong. Pq M246.3 S727W.
1958. *In Memory of Keith A. Madsen.* Taiwan District. Yearbook 1955-1958. qM256.4 S7284iC.
1959. *Voice of the Saints,* January 1959- . Mission magazine in English and Chinese. Res. M205.5 V889C.
1960. *Missionary Gospel Teachings in Cantonese.* Hong Kong. A language texbook. Res. M256.4 S7284mC.
1961. *Gospel Dialogue in Mandarin.* Taipei. Prepared by Donald C. Cutler and Thomas Nielson. Res. M256.4 S7284gC.
1961. *Conversational Chinese for Missionary Use.* Taipei. Prepared by Donald C. Cutler and Thomas Nielson. Pq M256.4 S7284sC.
1961. *Southern Far East Mission and You.* Hong Kong. P M275.125 S7284.
1963. *Gospel Study Plan.* Hong Kong. Res. qM256.4 S7284go.
1963. *Missionary Language Plan in Cantonese.* Hong Kong. Prepared by Ermel J. Morton. Res. M256.4 S7284miC.
1963. *Missionary Plan in Mandarin.* Hong Kong. Prepared by Ermel J. Morton. Res. M256.4 S7284mlC.
1963. *Fu Nu Hui Huo Tung Chiao Tsai.* Relief Society activities material. Res. M257.26 AlC.
1964. *Cantonese Romanization Glossary of the Six Discussions.* Hong Kong. Pfo M256.4 S7284misC.
1964. *Hsieh Geen Hui*: Fun Songs. Hong Kong. MIA fun songs for the Chinese. In English. Pq M257.42 S7284h.
1965. *After Baptism Lessons.* Hong Kong. Pq M256.4 S7284a.
1965. *Shou Hsi I Hon Ko Chen* (*After Baptism Lessons—Cantonese*). Hong Kong. Pq M256.4 S7284aC.
1965. *Sheng Huo* (*Life*). Hong Kong. P M233 S7284shC.
1967. *Chuan Tao Hua I Ko Chen* (*A Unified System for Teaching Investigators*). P M256.1 C561uC.
1967. *Mu Tao Pan K'o Ch'eng.* Hong Kong. An investigator class manual. Res. AlC.
1967. *Hsieh Geen Hui Chen Zen Ben Ko Chen* (*MIA Lessons for Special Interest Class*). Taipei. Res. M257.46 AlC.
1967. *Chin Wen Chung Te Ling Hsiu* (*Scripture Lessons in Leadership—Teachers' Manual*). Hong Kong. Res. M257.36 AlC.
1968. *Hsieh Geen Hui Yeu Sea* (*MIA Game Book*). Hong Kong. P M257.42 S7284mhC.
1968. *Chin Gin Tsi Chu Chia* (*The Primary Family Home*). Hong Kong. Pq M257.5 F198C.

HONG KONG—TAIWAN MISSION 1968-1970:

1969. *The Orientor,* December 1969- . A missionary bulletin. Res. M205.5 S7284a.
1969. *Senior Companion's Handbook.* Hong Kong. P M256.4 S7284sc.
1969. *Junior Companion's Handbook.* Hong Kong. P M256.4 S7284j.

1969. *Group Leader's Handbook: Vietnam Zone.* Hong Kong. P M256 S7284gl.

1969. *Chin Wen Tung Te Ling Hsio K'o Ch'eng* (*Scripture Lessons in Leadership—Students' Manual*). Hong Kong. Pq M257.36 AlC.

1970. *Project Concern.* Hong Kong. Fellowshipping materials. Pq M246.5 H772p.

KOREA MISSION 1962- :

1960. *Songdodului Kyungyungran* (*Saints' Stewardship*). Seoul. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Written by Paul A. Weelington. P M291.6 W447sK.

1963. *The White Field,* January 1963- . Seoul. A missionary bulletin. Res. M205.5 K84a.

1963. *Chimnae Padun Hunun Muosul?* (*After Baptism What?*). Seoul. A missionary tract. Originally written by Mark E. Peterson. P M200. p 4842aK.

1965. *Songdo-wi bot* (*The Saints' Friend*), February 1965- . Seoul. Mission magazine. Res. M205.5 S985K.

1967. Palmer, Spencer J. *Korea and Christianity: The Problems of Identification with Tradition.* Seoul, Hollym Press.

1968. *Sang Ho Pujo Hwe* (*Relief Society Magazine*), 1968- . Seoul. A locally published Relief Society magazine. Pfo M252.2 K84sK.

1968. *Seroun Pokum Toron* (*New Gospel Discussions*). Seoul. An approach to learning the discussions written by Robert H. Slover II. M256.1 C561uK.

1968. *Kicho'o Munpop* (*Foundation Grammar*). Seoul. A missionary language training book written by Robert H. Slover II. Res. M256.4 K843sK.

EARLY INDIA MISSIONS:

Britsch, R. Lanier. *A History of the Missionary Activities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in India 1849-1856.* Brigham Young University, 1964. Res. M275.4 B862h.

McCune, George M. *Matthew McCune: Soldier, Doctor, Missionary, Saint.* Brigham Young University, 1968. Pfo M270.1 M175m.

Young, Susa Amelia Gates. *A Memorial to Elizabeth Claridge McCune.* Salt Lake City, 1924. M270.07 M159g, or Res. M270 29d.

PHILIPPINES MISSION 1967- :

Call, Lowell E. *Latter-day Servicemen in the Philippines: Historical Studies of Activities Leading to the Establishment of the Church.* Brigham Young University, 1955. Res. M279.14 C156C.

1968. *The Bayanihan*, January 1968- . A missionary bulletin. Res. M202.5 P552a.

1968. *Fellowship.* Manila. P M246.5 P552f.

SOUTHEAST ASIA MISSION 1969- :

1970. *Missionary Handbook.* Singapore. P M256.4 S7272M.

APPENDIX II: JOURNALS

Name	Date	Catalogue Number
Featherstone, Joseph	1901-1903	
Grant, Heber J.	1909-1911	633
Ivie, Lloyd O.	1910-1914	783
Ludington, Elam		
McCune, Matthew	1862-1864	539
Richards, Joseph	1876-1881	
Savage, Levi	1858-1885	
Stout, Hosea	1844-1846, 1848-1869	195, film 154
Taylor, Alma O.	1901-1922	film 108

Note: Several of the journals do not have call numbers. These must be requested by name.

APPENDIX III: BIOGRAPHIES

Name	Date of Sketch	File Number
Anderson, Dwayne	1942	Ms: b-2-7-18
Andrus, Paul C.	1956	Ms: b-3-2-2
Bills, Walter	1969	Ms: b-24-6-2
Carr, Gail E.	1970	Ms: b-16-2-19
Clissold, Edward L.	1952	Ms: b-20-5-10
Hardy, Brent	1968	Ms: b-16-13-20
Horiuchi, Russell N.	1960	Ms: b-30-12-12
Komatsu, Adney Y.	1970	Ms: b-31-11-3
Okazaki, Cheko N.	1968	Ms: b-10-14-11
Okazaki, Edward Y.	1968	Ms: b-11-5-21
Robertson, Hilton A.	1968	Ms: b-18-13-5
Rose, Paul S.	1967	Ms: b-15-7-21
Slover, Robert H.	1968	Ms: b-17-1-14
Smith, DeWitt C.	1970	Ms: b-30-13-17
Stimpson, Joseph H.	1933	Ms: b-17-9-2
Watanabe, Kan	1970	Ms: b-30-13-22

APPENDIX IV: MANUSCRIPTS

Aki, Henry. General Conference address given October 5, 1951 (taped). t625.*

Benson, Ezra Taft, and Bruce R. McConkie. Report on a visit to Indonesia, October 1969. Ms. d-680.

Bills, Walter. Letter from Tokyo to George McCune in Salt Lake City explaining how the Japanese Saints financed their excursion to General Conference and the Salt Lake Temple, December 11, 1970. Ms. d-1085.

Brown, Hugh B., and Gordon B. Hinkley. Motion picture of a visit to Korea, 1967. (15 minutes, 500 feet.) Ms. nf-289.

Clissold, Edward L. Address given in General Conference, April 4, 1959 (taped). f-749.
Grant, Heber J. Letter books (especially numbers 23-26). Ms. f-277: 1-55.
Grant, Heber J. Letters to President Grant, 1901-1902, while he was in Japan. Name File LC-Leg.
Hong Byung-sik. Account of the first temple trip of Korean members to the Hawaiian Temple, August 1970. Ms.d-969.
Lewis, James. Life history including an account of a mission to China (on microfilm, no date). Ms. f-180.
McCune, Henry F. Letters to John Taylor and others from Calcutta regarding the unreadiness of that people to accept the gospel (no date). Ms. d-882.
McCune, Matthew. Day Book: Life in Rangoon and Calcutta as extracted from his journal. Ms. d-1095-1.
McKay, David O. Papers, 1907-1967 (on film). Ms. f-287.
Robertson, Hilton A. General Conference Address, April 4, 1947 (on tape). t-544.
Robertson, Hilton A. General Conference Address, April 4, 1953 (on tape). t-654.
Price, Harrison Ted. Papers, 1951-1958, including letters, incidents in Japan and during World War II, and an account by Matthew Cowley on the building of temples in Japan. Ms. d-515.
Stimpson, Joseph H. Record Books 1908-1912 with a statistical record of President Stimpson's mission. Ms. d-1060; 12-13.
Stimpson, Joseph H. Journals, 1911-1921 (xeroxed). Ms. d-1060: 1-11.
Taylor, Alma O. Journal, 1901-1922 (on film). Ms. f-108.
———. Southern Far East Mission Papers, no date (on film). Ms. f-186.
———. Chaplains in Korea, episodes showing the activities and services of chaplains in Korea, 1950-1953 (on tape, 15 minutes). Ms. t-2189.

APPENDIX V: MAGAZINES

Current Missionary Magazines in Asia in English:

The Orienter (Hong Kong)
The White Field (Seoul)
The Bayanihan (Manila)
The Rising Sun (Kobe)
Golden Horizons (Osaka)
The Pearl (Singapore)
The Service Messenger (Tokyo)
The Pioneer, Kaitakusha (Sapporo)
The Taiwan Missionary (Taipei)

Oriental Language Titles of Unified Magazine:

Korean: *Songdo-wi Bot*
Japanese: *Seito-no Michi*
Chinese: *Sheng t'u-chih Sheng*

The Philippines and Southeast Asia missions use English language publications of the Church.

The Historians Corner

(Published in Cooperation with the
Mormon History Association)

JAMES B. ALLEN, *Editor*

A LETTER TO ENGLAND, 1842

William Clayton

In the year 1837, William Clayton, a clerk in a large factory in Penwortham, England, was converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Heber C. Kimball. He rose fast in the Church, and a year after his baptism he quit his job and began to devote his entire time to building the Kingdom in England. Through his efforts, the branch in Manchester was organized, and he soon became a counselor to the president of the British Mission. He was placed in charge of the branch at Manchester.

Recently, Brigham Young University acquired the missionary diary of William Clayton which covers the period from January 1, 1840, to February 1842. This diary is now being edited and annotated for publication. Its pages reveal the intimate relationship of William Clayton to the new Mormon converts in Manchester. Clayton was only twenty-three years of age when he began to keep his diary, but he was responsible for all of the activities of the Church in that city. Late in 1840, Clayton decided to leave England, and he recorded in his diary a vivid account of one of the earliest Mormon groups to make the trans-Atlantic odyssey from Liverpool to Nauvoo, Illinois.

Clayton was one of those who attempted to establish a settlement across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo, at a place called Zarahemla, Iowa. This settlement did not succeed, however, and he eventually moved back to Nauvoo. At the

same time, he became a secretary and scribe to Joseph Smith and was apparently an intimate disciple. He kept financial and temple records, helped write Joseph Smith's Journal, and did many other things to assist the Mormon Prophet in his administration of Church affairs. In later years, Clayton became a noted song writer and provided a number of the hymns still sung in the Church.[1]

In connection with the many problems involved in establishing a new Mormon community at Nauvoo, Joseph Smith became involved in the land business. In doing so, he sometimes combined his personal financial affairs with those of the Church, and it was difficult to unravel them, even after his death. It is apparent that some of the land business helped provide an income for Joseph himself, although both he and and the high council of Nauvoo determined that he should try to find some other source of income.[2] These business affairs, however, provided fuel for considerable criticsm of the Prophet. As a close associate of Joseph, William Clayton was undoubtedly affected by this criticism and felt a compelling desire to express his own feelings regarding it, which he did on March 30, 1842, in a heartfelt letter to William Hardman, one of the men he had baptized in Manchester. Since Clayton's diary reveals him to be a man who had great concern for telling the truth, it cannot be doubted that this letter expresses his genuine feelings about Joseph Smith, the Church, and other matters. The letter was published in the *Millennial Star* on August 1, 1842, and it is reproduced here as an example of one British immigrant's reaction to his experiences in America, and with Joseph Smith.

Dear William,[3] My heart rejoices while I write to inform you that on Sunday evening last, the steamer Ariel landed

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[1]For a sketch of the life and activities of William Clayton, see Paul E. Dahl, *William Clayton: Missionary, Pioneer, and Public Servant,* (2nd ed. Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1964).

[2]An illuminating discussion of Joseph Smith's financial activities is found in Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi,* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 116-178. Joseph's activities as a land jobber are discussed on pages 119 to 127.

[3]This is William Hardman, whom William Clayton baptized in Manchester. Church records show that Hardman was baptized on June 21, 1840, although Clayton's diary indicates that he baptized Hardman on June 14, "Manchester Branch, Record of Members, Early to 1852," Brigham Young University Library microfilm #488, Serial #13656, part 43, p. 39, entry 661; William Clayton, "Journal," hand-written MS, Brigham Young University Library, June 14, 1840. Hardman was later cut off from the Church.

at Nauvoo, loaded with Saints from England. About five o'clock the boat was seen coming up the river, the whole deck crowded with Saints. I went to the landing place along with Elder John Taylor, his wife, and others.

As we went along, we were delighted and astonished to see the number of Saints on their way to meet the boat. When we arrived, the scene was affecting; I could not refrain from weeping.[4] I looked round, and I suppose there was not less than from two to three thousand Saints on the shore, all anxiously interested in the scene. Many were there who wanted to give the strangers (yet brothers) a hearty welcome; others panting betwixt doubt and hope, lest their friends should not be there, others waiting to ascertain if any former acquaintence was in the company—myself amongst the number; and many, whose hearts throbbed with joy, and their eyes wept tears, expecting to see their mothers, their fathers, their children, and other relatives, &c., &c. While all this bustle was going on on shore, the boat was now within three hundred yards, coming directly for the shore; the confusion was so great I could but faintly hear those on the boat singing a hymn (I believe, "The Latter-day Glory").

At this period my heart almost melted, the boat moving majestically, every head stretched out, and all eyes gazing with intensity. A few moments more and the boat was landed, and the joyful acclamations and responding welcomes would have made a heart of stone acknowledge, that whether there was any religion or not, there was a great quantity of love—the purest essence of religion. I soon recognized sister Davies, from Cookson-street, Manchester, and a sister Martha[5] who lived with them; also James Burgess and family,[6] Richard Hardman and family,[7] Rbt. Williams[8] and

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[4]William Clayton, along with all the other immigrants, undoubtedly felt a great deal of joy at their reunion with old friends from England. It became common for English converts to immigrate in large numbers to Nauvoo, where they could unite with the saints in the Promised Land. In Clayton's diary, in fact, one gets the impression that they now considered America, rather than England, their home. In the midst of his own rather harrowing voyage, Clayton had recorded, on September 22, 1840, "As soon as the bustle subsided the wind began to blow and were again on our way home."

[5]"Sister Davies" was probably either Mary Davies, who was baptized on March 21, 1839, or Elya Davies, who was baptized on July 14, 1839. Both women lived on Cookson Street in Manchester, while Clayton presided over the branch, and both immigrated to America. "Manchester Branch Records," page 22, entries 323 and 325. The branch records do not mention a Martha Davies; but two men, Benjamin and John Davies, also lived on Cookson Street and may have been brothers. The only mention of a Sister Davies in Clayton's missionary journal is on January 25, 1840, in connection with some personal problems in the branch. A Brother Jackson was apparently having an argument with a leather cutter, and Sister Davies reported that the leather cutter said to her that one of their Latter-day Saints had turned "latter-day sinner."

[6]This probably refers to James Burgess, who lived on Pollard Street in Manchester and immigrated to the United States. A Brother Burgess and his

wife, and several others whom I know. They soon discovered me, and we quickly felt each other's hand, and had a time of rejoicing together. Teams were soon in waiting to carry their luggage to houses until arrangements could be made for their final accommodation. The company were in good health and spirits.

Amongst the number who went to see them land, I may mention, president Joseph Smith, B. Young, Willard Richards, John Taylor, of the twelve; and many others in high standing, although the distance was nearly two miles.

Now, dear William, let me say I am neither dead, sick, nor dissatisfied, but am rejoicing to hear from my old friends. My faith in this doctrine, and in the prophet and officers is firm, unshaken, and unmoved; nay, rather, it is strengthened and settled firmer than ever.[9]

You say you are almost wearied with the lies, &c. This is what we must expect in these days, for this is a lying and wicked generation; even many, in whom we may have great confidence, when we see them brought into trial, give way to an evil spirit. Old Mr. B—and daughter like many others, were assailed by the apostate crews, who lay scattered on the banks of the river; and all manner of evil reports were sounded in their ears, until they became discouraged; and, finally, almost denied the faith before they came near Nauvoo.

People coming here with their minds thus prejudiced, will naturally construe every thing they see and hear into evil, and will imagine evil where there is none. In this state the B—ton family came, and were something like spies, afraid to be spoken to by any one, least they should be

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family appear frequently in Clayton's missionary journal, and they were apparently quite active in the Church. On one occasion, William Clayton attempted to convert Burgess's two brothers to the Church but apparently with little success. "Manchester Branch Records," page 7, entry 124; Clayton, "Journal," February 15, 1840.

[7]Richard Hardman was baptised in 1838, lived on Colton Street in Manchester, and later emmigrated to the United States. "Manchester Branch Records," page 38, entry 643. There are several Hardmans listed in the branch records, and William Clayton's Journal shows a very close association with the Hardman family. He frequently stayed at the Hardman home and often ate with them. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that Clayton was apparently traveling without purse or script and relying entirely on the members of the branch to provide a livelihood for him while he was conducting his Church responsibilities in Manchester.

[8]No Robert Williams is listed in the Manchester Branch Records, but this may have been the Rob Williams who appears frequently in Clayton's Journal. Williams was apparently very ill, and Clayton frequently records praying with him and anointing him with oil. On February 18, 1840, Clayton wrote a letter for R. Williams to his father in London.

[9]This is a very significant statement for Clayton to make, for he had suffered considerable illness and hardship on his voyage across the ocean, and in his efforts to settle on the banks of the Mississippi. He had even lost a little child in an outbreak of malaria in 1841, and he had seen some of his friends die. Such a faith in the face of hardship is indeed impressive.

ensnared, and especially afraid to meet Joseph Smith, lest he should want their money. After remaining a short time here, they went back to Warsaw, where some of the greatest enemies reside, and, I am sorry to say, have joined in the general clamour and business of circulating evil reports, some of which I, MYSELF, KNOW POSITIVELY TO BE FALSE.

For me to write any thing concerning the character of president Joseph Smith would be superfluous. All evil reports concerning him I treat with utter contempt; but because I esteem you highly as a friend and brother, I will say a few words on this subject. Joseph Smith is not the "treasurer for all the Saints," and has no more to do with their money than you or me; every man just does what he pleases with his money, and neither Joseph, nor any one of the officers, ever attempt to control any one, or their property either.

The church have appointed Joseph Smith trustee, in trust for the church, and as such, upon him devolves the important duties of buying lands, that the Saints may have somewhere to gather together, and he is responsible for the payment for these lands. How can he do this without means? If those who have money will not assist by purchasing lands from Joseph Smith, and paying him money for it, how is the church to be built up, and what is to become of the thousands of poor who are continually pouring in from all quarters?

With regard to J. Smith getting drunk, I will say that I am now acting as clerk for him, and at his office daily, and have been since February 10th, and I know he is as much opposed to the use of intoxicating drinks as any man need be.—I have never seen him drunk, nor have I ever heard any man who has seen him drunk since we came here. I believe he does not take intoxicating drink of any kind: our city is conducted wholly upon temperance principles. As to his using snuff and tobacco, I KNOW he does no such thing. To conclude, I will add that, the more I am with him, the more I love him; the more I know of him, and am sorry that people should give heed to evil reports concerning him, when we all know the great service he has rendered the church.

COLONEL THOMAS L. KANE ON MORMON POLITICS

J. Keith Melville

When the Thirty-first Congress met in December of 1849, a major item to be considered was the organization of ter-

ritorial or state governments for the area acquired from Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848). Mexican settlements of long standing in present-day New Mexico and California were thereafter under the jurisdiction of the United States. The Gold Rush of '49 brought a large influx of United States citizens into California, who immediately established a government west of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and sought admittance into the Union as a state.

The Mormons, who settled in the Great Basin portion of Upper California, at first met the civic needs of their society with a theocratic government. A number of problems arose, however, which prompted a move to organize a regular civil government. On January 6, 1949, the Council of Fifty, the legislative body of the theocracy, selected John M. Bernhisel as a lobbyist to go to Washington, D.C., to petition Congress for a territorial government. Later in the spring, a civil government called the "State of Deseret" was organized, and on July 5, 1849, the General Assembly elected Almon W. Babbitt as the delegate to Congress. The prime objective of both men was to get statehood for Deseret.

Deseret statehood, however, was imperiled by the national controversy over slavery; a variety of charges, including disloyalty and sedition, leveled against the Mormons by their opponents, among which was a petition to President Zachary Taylor from William Smith, the Prophet's brother; and rumors prompted by polygamy that the Mormons were involved in immorality, licentiousness, and debauchery.

The Compromise of 1850 admitted the State of California into the Union as a free state, but included only an "Act to establish a Territoral Government for Utah." Why? There were many contributing factors, but Colonel Thomas L. Kane believed the "improper conduct" of the representative of Deseret hurt the cause of Deseret statehood. Even though Kane and Babbitt were both Democrats, the colonel was unimpressed with the delegate from Deseret. Conversely, he was highly pleased with the "modest good sense and careful purpose to do right" of Dr. Bernhisel, who conducted his personal and public affairs with "upright deportment and gentlemanly demeanor. . . ."[1]

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[1]Letter of Thomas L. Kane to the Mormon leaders, September 24, 1850, as found in the "Journal History of the Church" in the Church Historian's Office.

In his letter of September 24, 1850, to the leaders of the Church, Kane offered some sage advice on Mormon political activities in that day:

> I have just returned from Washington, where I was called . . . to use my influence with Mr. Fillmore in favor of the nominations for Utah. . . . Until Deseret is admitted into the Union, I would not be thought exacting as to the qualification of her Representative, but he should at least be of correct deportment, discreet, and of good report, that those who point to him and say, "there goes a Mormon," may find marked their approval of his religion. The Delegate, as sort of ambassador, is commonly taken as the specimen man of his constituency; if he cannot do good, if he is either ashamed of his religion, or a shame to it, he can do much harm. In politics, too, . . . he should at all events be a man whose instincts will teach him to be a trusty supporter of his single party and nice in his choice of the associates that belong to it. Otherwise, he will have personal influence with neither party, and gain not strength but only dependency from the relations he cultivates. . . .

Mormon elders who seek responsible positions of public trust and Mormon voters who want their culture as well as their political needs well represented should find these words of Thomas L. Kane not only historically interesting but currently appropriate.

ELIZA R. SNOW'S "SKETCH OF MY LIFE": REMINISCENCES OF ONE OF JOSEPH SMITH'S PLURAL WIVES

Spencer J. Palmer

The subject of plural marriage among the Mormons may seem like an exotic one to historians, but, when correctly understood, it is also a topic that can help one evaluate the peculiar nature of the Mormon faith as well as the deep sensitivity of many of its adherents. During the 1880s Hubert Howe Bancroft spent considerable time in Utah, gathering material for his important *History of Utah* and for the vital collection of Mormon documents which is now located in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California. One of the people he became acquainted with was Eliza R. Snow, who had once

been a plural wife of Joseph Smith. Before leaving Utah, Bancroft asked her to write an autobiographical sketch of her life to add to his collection. This she agreed to do and the narrative, entitled simply "Sketch of My Life," was finished in 1885.

While only a few passages in this document refer to the matter of Eliza R. Snow's marriage to Joseph Smith, there are several things about these passages that are interesting and of some importance to the historian. Even though this famous Mormon woman continued to use the name of Snow, possibly because during Joseph Smith's lifetime she was not publicly acknowledged as his wife, she signed this document "Eliza R. Snow Smith." Her defense of the principle of plural marriage is interesting in that it shows, for one thing, the need felt by many participants to defend themselves against the bitter and often vicious attacks of critics. But Eliza R. Snow defended the principle not only because it was criticized but also because she genuinely and wholeheartedly believed it. While her reflections here may seem somewhat pleading or sensitive in nature, it must be remembred that they came from the pen of one who had a flair for poetic writing and, at the same time, an unshakable faith in the truth of what she was writing about. Regardless of what one may say about polygamy in general, he cannot doubt the sincerity of Eliza R. Snow's commitment to it as an eternal principle.

In 1957 the Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Foundation published a book entitled *Eliza R. Snow, An Immortal: Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow.* About half of this book is a reproduction of selected pages from the "Sketch" and from her 1846-49 pioneer diary. It is intriguing to note that in the excerpts from the "Sketch" the editors pointedly deleted Eliza Snow's references to plural marriage and her repeated affirmations of marriage to Joseph Smith (see page 12 and compare with the excerpts below).

Although Eliza R. Snow's marriage to Joseph Smith as a plural wife is certainly not unknown to Church history students, readers of "The Historians Corner" will be intrigued with the following excerpts from her "Sketch," for this document is generally unknown to members of the Church. We include here the major references to her marriage, as well as enough additional material to give it some perspective.

It is well known that Eliza R. Snow became one of the important women of pioneer Utah and that she was especially noted for her deeply sensitive religious poetry. The words to "Oh, My Father," a hymn which has become a Mormon tradition, are among her permanent contributions to Mormon culture. It is also probable that she authored the words to "Praise to the Man," a hymn of tribute to the martyred Joseph Smith.[1] If so, one can get new meaning from these words as he compares them with the reminiscences below and realizes that they were also a tribute to a fallen husband.

Sketch of My Life[2]

I was born in Becket, Berkshire Co., Mass. Jan. 21, 1804. My parents were of English descent—their ancestors were among the earliest settlers of New England. My father, Oliver Snow, was a native of Massachusetts—my mother, Rosetta L. Pettibone, of Connecticut.

* * * * * * * *

In the Autumn of 1833[3] I heard of Joseph Smith as a Prophet to whom the Lord was speaking from the heavens; and that a sacred ~~history~~ Record containing a history of the origin of the aborigines of America, was unearthed. A Prophet of God—the voice of God revealing to man as in former dispensations, was what my soul had hungered for, but could it possibly be true—I considered it a hoax—too good to be true.

In the winter of 1830 and 31, Joseph Smith called at my father's, and as he sat warming himself, I scrutinized his face as closely as I could without attracting his attention, and decided that his was an honest face. My adopted motto, "prove all things and hold fast that which is good," prompted me to investigation, as incredulous as I was; and the most impressive testimonies I had ever heard were given by two of the witness to the Book of Mormon, at the first meeting of the believers in Joseph Smith's mission, which I attended.

On the 5th of April, 1835, I was baptized by a "Mormon" Elder, and in the evening of that day, I realized the baptism of the Spirit as sensibly as I did that of the water in the stream.

On the 5th of April, 1835, I was baptized by a "Mormon" Elder, and in the evening of that day, I realized the baptism of the Spirit as sensibly as I did that of the water in the stream. . . .

In the Spring of 1836, I taught a select school for the young ladies, and boarded with the Prophet's family: at the close of the term I returned to my parental home, where friends and acquaintances flocked around me to enquire about the "strange people" with whom I was associated. I was exceedingly happy in testifying of what I had both *seen* and *heard,* until the 1st of Jan. 1837, when I bade a final adieu to the home of my youth, to share the fortunes of the people of God.

By solicitation, on my return I resided in the family of Joseph Smith, and taught his family school, and had ample opportunity to mark his "daily walk and conversation," as a prophet of God; and the more I became acquainted with him, the more I appreciated him as such. His lips ever flowed with instruction and kindness; and, although very forgiving, indulgent, and affectionate in his temperament, when his God-like intuition suggested that the welfare of his brethren, and the interests of the kingdom of God demanded; no fear of censure —no love of approbation could prevent his severe and cutting rebuke.

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To narrate what transpired within the seven years, in which we built and occupied Nauvoo, the beautiful, would fill many volumes. That is a history that never will, and *never can* "repeat itself." Some of the most important events of my life transpired within that brief term, in which I was married, and in wihch my husband, Joseph Smith, the Prophet of God, *sealed his testimony with his blood!*

Although in my youth I had considered marriage ordained of God; and without vanity can say, I had what was considered very flattering proposals, I remained single; and why, I could not comprehend at the time; But, when I embraced the fulness of the Gospel, in recalling to mind the events of my past life, I felt, and still feel to acknowledge the kind, overruling hand

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[1]Morgan Foundation, *Eliza R. Snow,* pp. 234-238.

[2]Permission to reproduce is granted by the Director, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, and is sincerely appreciated.

[3]Here she undoubtedly means 1829.

in the providences of God in that circumstance, as fully as in any other in my mortal existence; I do not know that one of my former visitors have received the Gospel, which shows that I was singularly preserved from the bondage of a marriage tie which would, in all probability, have prevented my receiving, or from the free exercise of the religion which has been, and now is dearer to me than my life.

In Nauvoo I first understood that the practice of plurality was to be introduced into the church. The subject was very repugnant to my feelings—so directly was it in opposition to my educated prepossessions, that it seemed as though all the prejudices of my ancestors for generations past congregated around me: But when I reflected that I was living in the Dispensation of the fulness of times, embracing all other Dispensations, surely Plural Marriage must necessarily be included, and I consoled myself with the idea that it was far in the distance, and beyond the period of my mortal existence. It was not long however, after I received the first intimation, before the announcement reached me that the "set time" had come—that God had commanded His servants to establish the order, by taking additional wives—I knew that God, who had kept silence for centuries, was speaking—I had covenanted in the waters of baptism to live by every word He should communicate, and my heart was firmly set to do His bidding. As I increased in knowledge concerning the principle and design of Plural Marriage, I grew in love with it, and to-day esteem it a precious, sacred principle—necessary in the elevation and salvation of the human family—in redeeming woman from the curse, and the world from corruptions.

I was sealed to the Prophet, Joseph Smith, for time and eternity, in accordance with the Celestial Law of Marriage which God has revealed—the ceremony being performed by a servant of the Most High—authorized to officiate in sacred ordinances. This, one of the most important circumstances of my life, I never have had cause to regret.[4]

From personal knowledge I bear my testimony that Plural Celestial marriage is a pure and holy principle, not only tending to individual purity and

Photo courtesy of Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

elevation of character, but also instrumental in producing a more perfect type of manhood mentally and physically, as well as in restoring human life to its former longevity.[5]

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[4]Eliza R. Snow was apparently married to Joseph Smith on June 29, 1842. See Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record,* Vol. VI (May, 1887), p. 238. The same article also contains a testimony from Eliza R. Snow, previously published in the *Deseret News* (weekly) of October 22, 1879, regarding her marriage to Joseph Smith and the reaction of Emma, Joseph's first wife.

[5]This line of reasoning was not an uncommon argument in support of plural marriage. Heber C. Kimball declared, for example: "I would not be afraid to promise a man who is sixty years of age, if he will take the counsel of brother Brigham and his brethren, that he will renew his age. I have noticed that a man who has but one wife, and is inclined to that doctrine, soon begins to wither and dry up, while a man who goes into plurality looks fresh, young, and sprightly. Why is this? Because God loves that man, and because he honours His work and word. Some of you may not believe this; but I not only believe it—I also know it. For a man of God to be confined to one woman is small business; for it is as much as we can do now to keep up under the burdens we have to carry; and I do not know what we should do if we had only one wife apiece. *Journal of Discourses,* Vol. V, p. 22.

Book Reviews

GORDON C. THOMASSON, ed. *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism.* Santa Barbara, California: *Mormon Heritage,* 1971. (P.O. Box 15230.) 116 pp. $1.25.

(Reviewed by Ray C. Hillam, chairman, Department of Political Science, Brigham Young University. Dr. Hillam has published several articles on Vietnam and Asia in academic journals.)

> War I hate with all its mocking pageantry . . . It is a grim living testimony that Satan lives. It is the earth's greatest cause of human misery, destroyer of lives, promoter of hate and waster of treasure . . . It is man's greatest folly, his most tragic misadventure.
>
> —Gordon B. Hinckley

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is clearly against war. The Church has been somewhat more vague on conscription and the issue of the soldier who kills in war. The position of the Church was recently restated in a Memorial Service Address by President Harold B. Lee:

> When . . . law . . . calls the manhood of the Church into the armed service of any country to which they owe allegiance, their highest civic duty requires that they meet that call. If, hearkening to that call and obeying those in command over them, they shall take the lives of those who fight against them, that will not make them murderers, nor subject them to the penalty that God has prescribed for those who kill . . . for it would be a cruel God that would punish his children . . . for acts done by them as the innocent instrumentalities of a sovereign whom He had told them to obey and whose will they were powerless to resist.

The position of the Church on conscientious objection seems less clear to members of the Church. According to the secretary to the First Presidency, "membership (in the Church) does not make one a conscientious objector," but, since the existing law (in the United States) provides that men who have conscientious objection may be excused from combat

service, there "would seem to be no objection" by the Church for "a man availing himself on a personal basis of the exemptions provided by law." However, while the Church "would seem" not to object, there is little evidence that the Church has encouraged its youth to seek conscientious objection as an alternative to combat service.

The unpopular war in Vietnam has produced considerable interest in conscientious objection. Were it a popular war, there probably would be little interest in such matters. Nevertheless, an increasing number of youths, among them Latter-day Saints, have questioned the legitimacy of American involvement in Vietnam and have turned to conscientious objection as an alternative to combat service. One of Gordon Thomasson's stated objectives is to explain the position of those Latter-day Saint youths who have chosen such an alternative.

War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism is a compilation of statements, quotes, letters, essays, and comments on war, the draft, and conscientious objection. It includes statements by the First Presidency, quotations from scripture and Church leaders, and essays and articles by well-known Church authors such as Hugh Nibley. The editor claims its primary purpose is to appeal for understanding on the part of those within the Church who have been intolerant of conscientious objectors. He also acknowledges that the booklet is a "good cause" with a definite point of view. Brother Thomasson is candid in his admission that he and his associates "are not opposed" to the booklet's being of "help" to the sincere objector. The essays by David E. Hayes and Randy Shipley are detailed accounts of how a Latter-day Saint can obtain conscientious objection status. His booklet, however, goes a bit beyond these objectives, for it implicitly encourages Latter-day Saint youth to become conscientious objectors.

Thomasson's compilation is a useful and relevant contribution to an issue which is vaguely understood by most Latter-day Saints. He and his associates are to be commended for not becoming so involved in their "cause" to the extent that they condem, as "war lovers" those who disagree with them.

This reviewer would not personally choose to be a conscientious objector, but such a choice is clearly within the law. Furthermore, it would seem that the Church does not object to conscientious objection as long as it is an individual matter.

In my judgment, those few Latter-day Saints whom I know to be conscientious objectors are not cowards or disloyal to their country or the Church. On the contrary, they have shown great courage and are frequently subjected to considerable personal abuse. The long and torturous process including the costs of a lawyer would seem to be a test of one's conviction. However, it also implies conscientious objection status is available mostly to the rich, educated, or wellborn.

If we are to understand Latter-day Saint youths who have become conscientious objectors, Thomasson's compilation is required reading While at first glance this compilation of documents seems rather shocking to some members of the Church, yet hopefully his efforts could be the beginning of a more meaningful dialoge within the Church regarding military service and conscientious objection. Such dialogue will not settle the question, but it may improve understanding.

RUSSEL J. THOMSEN. *Latter-day Saints and the Sabbath.* Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971. 150 pp.

(Reviewed by F. Kent Nielsen, instructor in the Physics Department at Brigham Young University. Mr. Nielsen's field of research is the history and philosophy of science. He is author of *Book of Mormon Studies* (1959) and has published in the *New Era.*)

Russel Thomsen is a young Seventh-day Adventist doctor currently working at the LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City. His book is a zealous, missionary-minded effort to persuade Mormons to his point of view. Written primarily as a tool for that purpose, the present work was originally presented to the Loma Linda University (the SDA institution near San Bernardino) in 1968 as a master's thesis in religion, under the title *The History of the Sabbath in Mormonism.* Printed by the Seventh-day Adventist publishing house, it is an attractive paperback of 150 pages, plus appendix, with notes for each of its nine chapters, and a bibliography. It is generously illustrated.

Thomsen's overall approach is basically polemical and hortatory and his work consequently suffers from a lack of

objectivity and of critical evaluation. By an objective standard, he fails to establish his major thesis, that Latter-day Saints have nothing more than tradition as a basis for keeping Sunday as a Sabbath day of rest and worship. Not withstanding this failure, there are points of interest in the work. The chapter on "Sunday Closing Laws and Mormonism," while written with some animus against the LDS Church, does provide historical documentation of an issue upon which the Seventh-day Adventist have been very sensitive. The section on James J. Strang, although often used by Thomsen as a vehicle for taking "pot shots" at Joseph Smith through Strang, does remind us of the Saturday-sabbath practices of that interesting Mormon offshoot. One can, however, hardly credit Thomsen's incredible assessment that except for the Prophet Joseph, Strang "possibly bears no equal in the history of the Mormon movement"!

Easily the most worthwhile contribution of Thomsen's book are the chapters dealing with Samuel Walter Gamble's anti-sabbatarian arguments and their uses by Latter-day Saint authors. Gamble's contentions showed a fertile imagination coupled with an ignorance of history, the Jewish calendar, and Greek usage, and have been discredited and rejected by responsible scholarship. An unwitting wholesale acceptance of Gamble's arguments by some LDS authors has certainly invited, with justification, Thomsen's rejoinder that Latter-day Saints appear to be "an audience with a need for more ammunition." (p. 77.)

But when it comes to the presentation of his own case, Thomsen involves himself in an equally specious argumentation. Seventh-day Adventists have long argued that early Christian, Gentile, and Jew, alike, worshipped on the Jewish Saturday Sabbath until that day was deliberately and wickedly changed to Sunday in Constantine's time because of the pagan sun worship of the Romans. That absurdity is faithfully reproduced by Thomsen, who reports that Constantine was a sun-worshipper (p. 125) and that the use of Sunday by Christians as a day of worship has been customary only "since the fifth or fourth century" (p. 19). Again adhering scrupulously to the traditional teachings of his church, Thomsen equates the expression "the Lord's Day" with the Jewish Sabbath wherever it occurs in the early Christian documents and even in Latter-day Saint scriptures (p. 19). Such convenient rewriting of

history and historical usage is totally inexcusable at a time when scholarship has made available contemporary documents from the earliest Christian period, as a few representative citations will indicate:

"The Master commanded us [to celebrate] service at fixed times and hours." "On the Lord's Day of the Lord [we] come together, break bread and hold Eucharist." "We . . . celebrate with gladness the eighth day in which Jesus also rose from the dead." "No longer living for the Sabbath, but for the Lord's Day, on which also our life sprang up through him and his death. . . . It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practice Judaism." "Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly . . . and Jesus Christ our Savior on the same day rose from the dead. For he was crucified on the day before that of Saturn; and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to his apostles and disciples, He taught them these things." (See *I Clement* XL:1-2; *Didache* XIV:1, 3; *Barnabas* XV:4-9; *Ignatius to the Magnesians*: VIII-X; *Justin Martyr's First Apology,* LSVII.) Such documentary sources from the first Christian century and from men who know the Apostles themselves make crystal clear the actual beliefs and practices of early Gentile Christians concerning Sunday, the Lord's Day, and their practice of sacramental worship upon that day in commemoration of the Lord's resurrection. There is no need for special interpretation to understand what John meant when he wrote to such people about being in the spirit on "the Lord's Day" (Rev. 1:10); nor to understand Paul's charge to his Gentile converts who were being troubled by the Judaisers of their time:

> [Christ blotted] out the handwriting of ordinances that were against us . . . and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross . . . Let no man therefore judge you in mean, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the *sabbath days.* (Col. 2:14, 16; *cf.* II Cor. 3:6-11.)

Thomsen is inconsistent in his position with respect to the early Christian practice of Sunday observance since, when he refers to the testimony of the Christian Fathers, he accepts it as showing such a practice in the first and second centuries (notwithstanding the Constantine theory), arguing that such practice "may have been one of the early apostasies" (p. 110).

Thomsen makes an ambitious attempt to refute LDS observance of the Lord's Day, Sunday, from LDS scriptures themselves. He shows that from its beginnings the LDS Church observed Sunday as a day of rest and worship, a "Sabbath," (pp. 10-17 and *passim*), with an "apparent unanimity of belief and practice" (p. 17). He further shows that such belief and practice was not based on unchallenged acceptance of the prevailing Christian practice, but that important leaders like Brigham Young (pp. 20-27, 62-64) and Wilford Woodruff clearly understood the distinction between the seventh day Sabbath of the Jews and the first day Sabbath of the Christians, and also understood the Sabbatarians' arguments that Christians should be keeping the Jewish Sabbath. Orson Pratt used the existence of such arguments as one of the reasons why new revelation was necessary, and Wilford Woodruff had been himself a Saturday-sabbath keeper before he joined the LDS Church.

In his presentation of the position of these men Thomsen is guilty either of incredible naïveté or else of deliberate misrepresentation. He contrives a context wherein the early leaders continued to hold serious questions and doubts about the Sabbath issue, an issue which was "clouded" because of the "turbulence surrounding the birth of Mormonism" and never resolved, being "engulfed in the furor of the times" (pp. 22, 19, 55), and finally "dismissed as unimportant" (p. 63). Such a picture is totally inaccurate. Woodruff's acceptance of the Church was decisive for him upon the very issue of Sabbath keeping. He used it as an example of one of the false traditions he had laid aside when he accepted the truth: "I knew that the Latter-day Saints . . . had the true Church of Christ; and if I had a hundred traditions I would have laid them all aside" (p. 20). Orson Pratt was not "listing subjects which he felt required additional light" for himself or for the Latter-day Saints, as Thomsen's context plainly implies, but was rather arguing that the rest of the Christian world absolutely needed new revelation from God concerning points upon which *they* could not agree, such as the Sabbath question —revelation which the Latter-day Saints had received, and which *settled* those questions. For Pratt it is not modern-day revelation, but the New Testament without such revelation which is "an insufficient guide" (pp. 21-22). Both Pratt and

Woodruff agree that the Sabbath issue, far from being an issue overlooked in the "furor of the times," is an issue which had been definitely settled by modern revelation.

Thomsen completely misrepresents the LDS position on modern revelation by treating it as a "last resort" (p. 17) instead of the primary and sufficient basis for practice, as it is treated by all LDS writers. And while he quotes the pertinent part of D&C 59 as the basis for LDS Sunday observance, even mentioning that the revelation was given on Sunday (p. 18), he somehow manages totally to ignore the significance of the phrase "on *this,* the Lord's day" (verse 12). To a people who had from their beginning observed Sunday, the Lord's day, as a day of worship, and who were engaged in such observance at the very time they received the revelation, what else could the identification of "this, the Lord's day" as the holy day upon which they were to rest, worship, attend church, and offer up their sacraments mean but the Lord's acceptance of that practice and His enjoinment of its continuance?

That core position, urged by every LDS writer upon the subject, is not answered by Thomsen, or even acknowledged. It is totally ignored. Thomsen contends instead that the revelation was only "exhortatory," challenging the people to follow the Ten Commandments and similar gospel principles (p. 18). To support his contention, Thomsen urges only his misuse of the term "the Lord's Day," his naïve claim of Joseph Smith's ignorance of the time of the Biblical Jewish Sabbath, and his assertion that "nowhere . . . can it be found that Joseph Smith questioned the validity of the Ten Commandments." Built upon this tottering foundation, his argument proceeds to take strength unto itself by the mere process of repetition, until he arrives at the wholly unsubstantiated conclusion that "Sunday observance in the Mormon Church, as in the Roman Catholic Church, lies in tradition alone.

Thomsen's book will likely be of interest to only two groups of people: Seventh-day Adventists and Latter-day Saints. Many Seventh-day Adventists will no doubt find it satisfying and gratifying, since they already share its author's preconceptions and will seldom have the background to note where he is falsifying the Latter-day Saint position. Some Latter-day Saints may be sufficiently stirred up to learn about their own doctrine and its sources and to stop using bad argu-

ments for presenting a good case. If so, the book will serve a useful purpose for them also.

GUSTIVE O. LARSON. *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood.* San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971. 328 pp. $7.50.

(Reviewed by Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, associate institute director at the LDS Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah and research historian for Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. Dr. Lyon is presently a member of the editorial board of *BYU Studies.*)

This book should be in every university, college, and public service library where inquiries are made concerning the ecclesiastical and religious aspects of Mormonism and their relationship to Utah's struggle for statehood. *The "Americanization" of Utah* is an all-inclusive phrase which Professor Larson has applied to the process by which a small minority of the inhabitants of Utah Territory in the last four decades of the nineteenth century, almost all of whom were not only non-Mormons but also not natives of the territory, attempted to secure political control by disfranchising the Mormon majority. After the "Americanization" program had failed, Frederick T. Dubois, a former territorial attorney general of Idaho during the period, referring to the efforts of federal officials to build a political structure on an anti-Mormon bias, made the following confession in his *Autobiography*:

> Those of us who understood the situation were not nearly as much opposed to polygamy as we were to the political domination of the Church. We realized, however, that we could not make those who did not come actually in contact with it, understand what this political domination meant. We made use of polygamy in consequence as our great weapon of offense and to gain recruits to our standard. There was a universal detestation of polygamy, and inasmuch as the Mormons openly defended it we were given a very effective weapon with which to attack.

It is to this discussion that the book under review is concerned.

In the estimation of this reviewer, no writer is better qualified than Gus Larson to have undertaken an exhaustive

investigation of the efforts used to establish the power structure Dubois confessed the non-Mormons were endeavoring to create at the expense of the political and religious freedom of the Mormon communities. For many years, Professor Larson has been searching in national, state, and the LDS Church archives for relevant material. He has brought together much hitherto unpublished documentary material and placed it in its chronological, ecclesiastical, and political setting.

For students of Utah Mormon history, his account of the political opposition to the plural marriage system of the Mormons, generated and kept alive by intrigue both in Utah Territory and Washington, D.C., will prove provocative as well as challenging. His research on the so-called Underground system developed by the Mormons in their attempt to thwart the federal antibigamy laws is done in a scholarly manner with sympathy and understanding manifested toward both sides in the conflict.

Not only does he cover the months when a rather ruthless attempt was made to enforce the Edmunds and Edmunds Tucker Laws, but he also gives us the human, and often the humorous, side of the arrests and incarcerations of those arrested during the crusade. The glimpses of Church authorities and laymen imprisoned in various penitentiaries, their morale, and the sincere convictions of those who went to prison for conscience sake make this a fascinating book. Little-known material concerning the pardon (amnesty) granted Mormon violators of the federal statutes of marriage, and the accommodations agreed to by the Mormons before statehood was granted, are treated with skill and moderation. Some unusual illustrations add to reader interest in the book.

One must not forget that there is a message in this book as timely in 1971 as it was to those who participated in the events discussed. One cannot avoid the fact that the story of Mormonism's struggle concerning the plural marriage doctrine is the longest continuously sustained record of planned civil disobedience in the history of this nation.

Professor Larson has done in this book what an author should do. He gave his title, defined his understanding implied in the title, and then proceeded to interpret the subject from each angle which appeared to have bearing on the subject. If there are errors, they are few. If there are omis-

sions which should have been included, they are missing only because the limits of book size necessitated using the most pertinent material and leaving things less vital to some subsequent writer. This book will continue to serve a useful purpose for many years.

QUINN G. MCKAY and WILLIAM A. TILLAMAN. *Money Matters in Your Marriage.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Desert Book Company, 1971. 259 pp. $5.50.

(Reviewed by Robert J. Smith, associate academic vice-president and professor of accounting at Brigham Young University.)

The need for such a book as *Money Matters in Your Marriage* is evident when one reviews even briefly the importance of money matters in the family. Money is the number one cause of marital arguments, and some estimate that as high as 75 percent of divorces can be traced to financial problems.

This book represents an expansion and updating of a series of articles originally appearing in the *Improvement Era.* It is directed toward the Latter-day Saint family, particularly young married couples and young single people. Despite this, it has wide applicability to non-Latter-day Saint families who should find much useful information in it.

The fact that it is a compilation of articles published separately accounts for some of the strengths of the book as well as some possible weaknesses. The authors have achieved reasonable continuity from chapter to chapter and have achieved a very readable style with good transitions from one topic to another. There are, of course, some repetitions of ideas, usually in somewhat different contexts, however.

The division into many topic areas (24 chapters) in a relatively short book does make it possible for a user to review a particular topic after reading the whole book or to get useful information relative to a special area by reading one chapter.

The book contains many very practical suggestions for improving financial management through increasing ability to

gain income, spending funds wisely, and providing protection for assets and earning power through insurance.

The dangers of debt and of loose methods of handling money are well portrayed, together with concrete suggestions for solutions.

One area which could have been given emphasis, in addition to the appropriate comments which are made in various chapters of the book, is the subject of income tax. This important money matter perhaps deserves a chapter. This chapter could point out the kinds of information needed in the record keeping of a family to provide tax data. It would cover such topics as contributions (including the recipient organizations), interest, taxes, medical expenses, union dues, data relative to the sale or exchange of property, and other items.

In Chapter 15 dealing with the subject of setting up a budget, the authors elected, as do many others, to begin with the take-home pay. For full comprehension of the income of the family, there are many advantages to beginning with gross pay and showing the compulsory deductions for income tax and FICA as part of the budgetary process. Gross pay really is the income of the family and the payments withheld and made in behalf of the employee by the employer are no less expenditures of the family than if they had been received and paid out by the employee.

Another advantage of starting with the gross pay is that it is easier to see that the tithing should be based on gross pay. The authors did not really make an error inasmuch as they carefully explained that tithing should be based on the gross pay rather than take-home pay. Calculations, however, based on gross pay are easier to make.

Another topic that might be worthy of attention in such a book is the preparation for death, covering such topics as preparation of a will, preparing for estate and inheritance taxes, letters of instructions to survivors relative to assets owned and probable order of disposition and utilization. This topic perhaps was not covered because of the emphasis given in the book toward the young Latter-day Saint.

The authors have succeeded in producing a very readable, understandable book on a topic which some may avoid, feeling it will be dull and tedious. The book is very highly recommended, particularly to the young Latter-day Saint, but many

others will find helpful, useful ideas which could easily save them many times the price of the book both in dollars and in peace of mind.

O. N. MALMQUIST. *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1971. 496 pp. $8.00.

(Reviewed by Eugent E. Campbell, Ph.D., professor of history at Brigham Young University. Dr. Campbell has authored numerous articles on western and Mormon history.)

The story of the *Salt Lake Tribune* is a paradoxical one. The author expressed this idea when he wrote: "That their newspaper survived in the face of obstacles confronting it was a kind of miracle. Even now it is difficult to sort out the reasons why the *Tribune* lived on. . . ." When one considers that the *Salt Lake Tribune* was started by a handful of dissident Mormons, the so-called Godbeites, who challenged the economic and ecclesiastical policies of Brigham Young and the Mormon Church at a time when the population of Utah Territory was overwhelmingly Latter-day Saint, one can understand the choice of the phrase "a kind of miracle." The *Tribune* continued to attack important leaders such as Brigham Young, John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, Charles Penrose, Joseph F. Smith, and Reed Smoot, through approximately 60 of the 100 years of its history, often accusing them of dishonesty and immorality. It also led out in the crusade against the practice of plural marriage, using this "Achilles heel of the Church" to stir the federal government into action to help the *Tribune* owners achieve their purpose of breaking "Brigham Young's economic and political grip on his people." Despite the fact that the *Tribune's* early years were spent in such active opposition to the Church which had founded the territory and which exercised extraordinary control over its members, it continued to survive. Mormons constituted over 85 percent of the population well past the turn of the century and still claims over 60 percent of Utah's people today, and yet, the most popular newspaper is the *Tribune,* with its record

of opposition to Church policies and with personal attacks on its revered leaders. What is the explanation?

Mr. Malmquist gives two answers to the survival problem during the early years. The Godbeites, who were wealthy men, lost a sizable fortune before giving up the enterprise. After a short interval in which the successors to the Godbeites lost money also, the mining magnate, Thomas Kearns, acquired control. His statement that "it takes a great mine to run a newspaper" indicates that the *Tribune* was not a profitable investment. Two other reasons for its survival seem apparent in Mr. Malmquist's history. The *Tribune* became the organ for the Republican party in Utah at a time when that party was growing in popularity in the state. But perhaps the most important reason for survival and success was quality—the *Tribune* gradually became a superior newspaper.

The book is a very readable one. Mr. Malmquist's forty years of service with the *Tribune* have given him a feeling for its operation and a knowledge of its policies and personnel. His commitment to objectivity is everywhere apparent in his book. He tries to see the Mormon viewpoint, despite the fact that he is a "*Tribune* man," and is quite critical of the Tribune's vindictiveness at a time when the Church was trying to move in the direction the *Tribune* had advocated. He commented:

> Viewed in retrospect, it appears that affairs in Utah were working out in accordance with the desires expressed in *The Tribune* for years; that the changes it had been predicting were taking place with remarkable rapidity; that the territory was indeed being "Americanized." It was perhaps the editor's belated, and seemingly reluctant, recognition of the dramatic changes that prompted the remark, attributed by the editor of the Manti Times-Reporter to Frank J. Cannon: "*The Tribune* is like an old hag—blind and deaf, mumbling and grumbling, praying for the dawn, when the sun is already shining brightly."

There are a few weaknesses in Mr. Malmquist's history. His preoccupation with politics gives it an unbalanced view. In fact, it is so concerned with the political campaigns and elections that it might be more accurately entitled "The Political Opinions Expressed by the *Tribune* During Its First 100 Years." This political emphasis is relieved occasionally by a biography. One can understand the author's desire to in-

clude his research on Thomas Kearns, who financed the paper for so long, and whose family still owns the *Tribune.* One can also forgive the many pages of praise and adulation for John F. Fitzpatrick, who was "Mr. *Tribune*" for forty-two years, and who obviously commanded the respect of Mr. Malmquist, as well as many of the leaders of the Church, state and nation. But one wonders about the inclusion of a chapter on the "Silver Queen," Mrs. S. B. E. Holmes. She is first mentioned as a guest of Senator Kearns at a charity ball in Washington, D. C., and then the remainder of the chapter is devoted to a chronicle of her life. It is an interesting episode in Salt Lake City history, but has really nothing to do with the history of the *Tribune.* One Mormon leader, Anthony W. Ivins, is described as being a favorite of the *Tribune.* The sterling qualities listed give added evidence of the need for a careful study of this important man and his role in helping the Church adjust to the twentieth century.

The book is handsomely bound and printed in clear, bold type. One of the unusual features is that the quotations, which are numerous and sometimes lengthy, are double-spaced rather than the usual single-spaced pattern. This makes for easier reading although it is not always clear where a quotation begins and ends. The book also includes 36 pages of interesting photographs, drawings, and historic front pages.

O. N. Malmquist, the *Salt Lake Tribune,* and the Utah State Historical Society are all to be congratulated for making this important book available. The theme of the latter chapters, "accommodation," contains a message for all of us and may even be a ray of hope. For if the factions of a community, as bitterly divided as the Salt Lake community was, can learn to accommodate each other to the point that their opposing newspapers can merge into a single agency, joining together to promote the welfare of the people of the state and region, there is always hope that the rationality and good will of the human community on a larger scale may accept the principle of accomodation or, better still, may develop understanding and appreciation.

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