Kim Taylor (2005) Chinese Medicine in Early Communist China, 1945-63. A medicine of revolution. RoutledgeCurzon (Taylor & Francis Group), London & New York.

Chinese Medicine in Early Communist China, 1945-63

Chinese Medicine in Early Communist China describes the transformation of Chinese medicine from a marginal, sidelined medical practice of the early twentieth century, to an essential and high profile part of the national health care system under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).
The analysis begins with the Civil War of 1945-9, when the CCP was entrenched in rural Yan'an and began to enlist the support of the local peasant population, including practitioners of Chinese medicine, to strengthen its campaign. Eighteen years later, this fragmented and diverse tradition of medicine had been reworked into a standardized theoretical system with a nationwide network of institutions in place dedicated to its practice, research and study. Taylor explains that Chinese medicine achieved the scale of promotion it did precisely because it fitted in, sometimes in a quite fortuitous fashion, with the ideals of the Communist Revolution. During these fraught and unsettled times, political and economic considerations outweighed the therapeutic importance of the medicine. In deconstructing events of this period, this study throws new light on a series of key moments previously regarded as proof of Chairman Mao Zedong's unwavering support for Chinese medicine. These include the formation of the term 'Traditional Chinese Medicine' (or TCM), the exact circumstances of Mao Zedong's declaration that 'Chinese medicine is a great treasure-house!' and the unlikely beginnings of the formation of a 'basic theory of TCM'.

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[**AcuCentre Editorial Note:** Kim Taylor's excellent historical research text is reproduced here pretty much as is, including the appendices. However the bibliographies, index and most diagrams have been excluded, as have virually all of the Chinese characters. In the footnotes, 'XX' is frequently used to indicate that Chinese characters have been removed. Readers are urged to refer to Taylor's text for complete and original content.]

Needham Research Institute Series, Series Editor: Christopher Cullen

Joseph Needham's 'Science and Civilisation' series began publication in the 1950s. At first, it was seen as a piece of brilliant but isolated pioneering. However, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is clear that Needham's work has succeeded in creating a vibrant new intellectual field in the West. The books in this series cover topics relating broadly to the practice of science, technology and medicine in East Asia, including China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. The emphasis is on traditional forms of knowledge and practice, but without excluding modern studies which connect the topics with their historical and cultural context.

Celestial Lancets A history and rationale of acupuncture and moxa

Lu Gwei-Djen and Joseph Needham, with a new introduction by Vivienne Lo

A Chinese Physician Wang Ji and the Stone Mountain Medical Case histories, Joanna Grant

Chinese Mathematical Astrology Reaching out to the stars, Ho Peng Yoke

Medieval Chinese Medicine The Dunhuang medical manuscripts, Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction (pp. 1-13, 164-167)

This is a history of recent medicine in China which attempts to reassess the nature and origin of what is referred to today as 'Chinese medicine' or, more particularly, 'traditional Chinese medicine', in historical context. This book starts from the premise that Chinese medicine in modern-day China is not so much a continuing tradition of the past, as a deliberate distillation of ancient concepts according to the dictates of the twentieth century. This book claims that without its deliberate promotion by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Chinese medicine would exist very differently from how it does today. In order to understand the presentation, practice and distribution of contemporary Chinese medicine, we need to be informed of its formative years. These formative years this book places firmly in the early years of Communist Party control, 1945-63. Were it not for the active support of the CCP, the situation of Chinese medicine in mainland China is likely to be similar to that in other Asian societies such as Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong, where the medicine exists harmoniously within its own community, but has failed to penetrate the scientific sphere and lacks the direct government support necessary to broaden its base of clientele, and create a high international profile.

Systems of health care are necessarily subject to the changing demands of society over time, yet the case of Chinese medicine is unique in that it was up against a considerable foe, the scientific might of Western medicine. Medicine is the only scientific arena in which it has been possible for a traditional element to compete effectively, and the case in China is unparalleled worldwide. For various reasons, Chinese medicine met the criteria of the CCP and was embraced within the Communist Revolution. It served to advance the Communist cause in ways not exclusively therapeutic in nature. This is the story of how Chinese medicine won the support of a government system so markedly devoted to the promotion of science and the advancement of Chinese culture. Chinese medicine had a particular

function to serve in the new society, and this book looks at how this new role was created and how the medicine had to change in order to furfil its revolutionary purpose.
The medicine that the CCP chose to promote has come to be labelled 'traditional Chinese medicine' or 'TCM'. The appearance and consistent usage of this term is a central issue around which this book revolves. Today we use the term TCM extremely loosely, to refer to medicine of the past or present or future, and to medicine within or without of China, almost without distinction. Yet the term appeared at a specific moment in history and as such embodies the epistemological boundaries in which it was formed. To use the term ahistorically is to misunderstand the body of knowledge that it is meant to represent. TCM is state medicine. It functions within state institutions and its knowledge is organized into national, formulaic textbooks. The institutionalization and standardization of Chinese medicine are defining features of TCM in Communist China, and thus the medicine with which we deal today functions only within these recently established parameters. This book will examine the processes that have led to the current physical infrastructure and theoretical organization of Chinese medicine in the People's Republic of China.

The Communist Revolution

This history is set during the crucial years of 1945-63 when the Chinese Cormmunist Party (CCP) (gongchandang) gained control over China and began to establish its own particular form of rule over the new People's Republic. They form just a part of the Communist Revolution, which has been a project ongoing since the formation of the CCP in Shanghai in 1921. The years 1945-63 cover the most successful part of the Communist Revolution, when years of guerrilla warfare culminated in the unexpected takeover of China in 1949; an event which generated great levels of enthusiasm as it became apparent that through the efforts of every individual, China could be rebuilt. Thereafter followed a period of considerable political stability and marked a dynamic and rewarding epoch in CCP history which lasted until the onset of the Great Leap Forward (1958-61).
The rise to power of the CCP marked a dramatic reversal of fortune for a political party which until then had been the underdog in the contest for leadership of China. Since 1928, the rival Nationalist Party (guomindang) had been the Party in power and through a series of bloody campaigns had driven the CCP into hiding in the countryside. The year 1945 saw the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and the concurrent dissolution of an uneasy united front between the Nationalist and Communist Parties. They immediately set upon one another in a Civil War that lasted until the Communist Party walked into Beijing in victory in 1949. As a Party with minimal foreign backing, inferior military hardware and limited resources, the Communists had won their battle largely on the back of people power. Through shrewd manipulation and careful propaganda, the CCP had won the support of many suppressed elements of society, such as the women, artisans, peasants and even, medical practitioners, and in an extremely well-disciplined and highly organized campaign, had succeeded in the unimaginable and had claimed victory over China. The real battle, however, now lay ahead, for the CCP had to put its professed vision for China into play and, more crucially, to ensure its hold onto power.[1]

The orchestrator of the successful rise to power of the CCP was one Mao Zedong (1893-1976). Mao Zedong rose from obscurity as the son of a farmer and low-ranking member of the early CCP to become the 'Great Helmsman' and leader of China. In the early days, his talents as a key strategist and battle tactician became quickly apparent, most markedly during the Long March of 1934-5 when Mao led a core group of Communists to safety away from Nationalist attacks and resettled them in the central China desert city of Yan'an with himself as leader of the Party. During the long years of entrenchment and isolation in Yan'an (1935-47), Mao masterminded the structural and intellectual organization of the Party and he became a key theoretician of the Communist Revolution.[2] He saw the way forward for China as being highly nationalistic in nature, of being firmly rooted amongst the proletariat, as involving great military struggle, of extirpating the evils of imperialism and feudalism and of embracing new, scientific and unified values. All this would lead ultimately to a new, socialist and Communist China.[3]

Revolution is the overturning of an established order. In specifically Marxist terms, it is the replacement of one ruling class by another, and involves class struggle which is expected to lead to political change and the triumph of communism.[4] As Skocpol has put forth, social revolutions occur in the process of modernization, and modernization is a process intimately linked with military pressures as stronger nations, with increasing technological resources, particularly in the form of improved modes of transport and firepower, and motivated by financial imperatives, imposed their presence on other parts of the globe over the course of the nineteenth century.[5] As Skocpol puts it, 'Agrarian bureaucracies could not indefinitely "ignore" the very specific crises, in particular fiscal and martial, that grew out of involvement with a modernizing world, yet they could not adapt without undergoing fundamental structural changes . . . Social revolution was never deliberately "chosen". Societies only "backed into" social revolutions'.[6] The Communist Revolution was part of a general revolution that had been in play since the fall of the Qing empire in 1911 and the establishment of a Republic on 1 January 1912. The Communist Revolution was to become the prevailing model of this revolution and Mao the main architect.

Yet just as Mao could build up the Communist Revolution, so could he destroy it. The mental scars he was to accumulate along his journey to becoming the leader of China all fundamentally shaped the design of the Communist Revolution, and in the end destablized it. This is noticeable in his deep distrust of foreign powers, whom he identified strongly as beneficiaries of the Nationalist Party and thus traitors to the Communist cause,[7] and also in his acute consciousness of his own lack of formal education, rubbed into him during the early years of the CCP in Shanghai. Mao's was a complex personality. He was by nature a control freak, highly secretive, quickly suspicious, ruthless in revenge. These were all personal characteristics that were to determine the flow of politics in early Communist China.[8]

Medicine of revolution

The medicine of revolution on which this book is centred refers specifically to medicine of the Communist Revolution. Thus a medicine of revolution is a medicine which serves and accompanies such change. It is a medicine which is in tandem with the dissenting units of society; it embodies the

ideals of the opposing force; it is a medicine which has a political cause. It is also a medicine which aids and assists the revolution, catering to the practical needs of physical warfare. In harsh conditions, with restricted supply chains, the medicine must be able to function, at least at the level of sustaining life, to assist the revolutionary cause. It is also a medicine which, by attaching itself to shifting principles, is revolutionized itself in the process. By becoming part of the process of transformation of society, it too is transformed, emerging at the end of the process as a medicine with an entirely redefined role in the new society.

Needless to say, a medicine with such qualities is more the exception than the rule. Western medicine, as we know it today in its modern scientific state, could not stand up to this role of being a medicine of revolution. The scientific precepts on which modern medicine stands do not easily allow it to be peripheral to the process of change; it has to stand at the centre of it. During the course of the nineteenth century when medicine was transformed from a bedside, holistic practice to a laboratory and hospital-based clinical entity,[9] it could have been labelled a medicine *in* revolution, but rarely does it serve a political cause. Rather, Western medicine takes its causes with it. As a tool of empire during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, it functioned entirely within a colonial format. It cannot function in an environment removed from the essential validating structures of its own society, such as the laboratory, the instruments, the links to London. As Cunningham and Andrews have astutely pointed out, 'it is evident that the intrinsic nature of the Western medicine that was being spread abroad . . . was not and is not amenable to being changed *in its nature* by contests outside its metropolitan circle of origin' [italics in original].[10] For a medicine to be a medicine *of* revolution, it needs to be fiexible at the very core of its tenets.

Chinese medicine is such a medicine. And it is a medicine which has been consistently subject to change. Since the time of its formulation, first coherently recorded in the Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon (huangdi neijing) (c. 100), the precepts of its theoretical and thus clinical application, have been dependent on the dominant ideologies of its time. This is a thesis that has been excellently laid out in Paul Unschuld's Medicine in China. A History of Ideas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). He explains that, 'the acceptance or rejection of concepts of disease by groups in society has rarely been independent of socio-economic and socio-political determinants, be they consciously considered or not'.[11] Even into this modern day, the body of knowledge that is Chinese medicine remains ultimately dependent on the interests of the political system that supports it and the rationale of the people who use it. On its way to recovering its status as a major provider of health care in China, Chinese medicine went through some curious adaptations. This book examines closely some of these politically correct yet medically novel versions of Chinese medicine, that have emerged over the course of the Communist Revolution, necessary to ensure that Chinese medicine remains close to the centres of power.[12]

Medicine in Nationalist China

By the time we take up the story of Chinese medicine in 1945, it was performing in the shadow of a formidable contender, Western scientific medicine. While sustained by its own local communities, it was reviled and defamed by the more modern and reformist elements of Chinese society. For much of

the Nationalist period (1928-49) Chinese medicine was on the defensive, trying to win back its rightful place as the first choice for health care in Chinese political and social circles.

The decision to favour Western, scientific medicine over the traditional alternative was the result of many decades of soul-searching on the part of Chinese intellectuals. The nineteenth century had seen a once proud nation literally brought to its knees as superior military firepower laid China open to the increasing territorial and trade demands of Western nations. The final straw came with the humiliating defeat of the Chinese nation to its once humble neighbour, Japan, in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5. From then on it was simply a matter of time before the powerless and ineffective Qing regime crumbled in 1911, bringing to an end over 2,000 years of imperial rule in China.[13] The government that succeeded it was a republic, but one with an equally fragile hold on power and one which gave way essentially to fragmented warlordship of different localities until the consolidation of power by the Nationalist government under the leadership of Jiang Jieshi (1887-1975) in 1928. These years of instability, insecurity and essential inferiority dug deep into the Chinese psyche.

There were a number of stages to this game of 'catch-up'. At first it manifested itself as an effort to strengthen China militarily and technologically, so that it might better resist the growing incursions by Western powers onto its land and sovereignty. This was labelled the 'Self-Strengthening Movement' (ziqiang yundong) (1861-95) and marked the foundation of the Jiangnan and Nanjing arsenals and the strengthening of the nation through the adoption of technological advances such as telegraphs and railways. Actual administrative restructuring did not take place until the cumulative defeats of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Boxer Rebellion (1900-1), both of which landed the Chinese government with crippling foreign indemnities and left it in no doubt of the modernizing imperative. A series of reforms were put through from 1901-11 called the 'New Policies' (xinzheng), which included abolishing the traditional examination system, introducing the prohibition of opium, revising certain taxes and involving a complete overhaul of the imperial government system.[14] However, it was only after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, that the most serious soul-searching as a nation began.

Since the late nineteenth century, young Chinese intellectuals had been sent abroad to Japan and the West to be educated in modern, foreign knowledge, and to bring this learning back to China. The questions they were asking were how could traditional Chinese culture, science and society be so desperately inadequate as compared to their Western counterparts?[15] And with the fall of the imperial system, just how was China to regain its dignity and reassert itself as an independent, strong nation? The May Fourth Movement (wusi yundong) of 1919, a large student uprising in protest against the ceding of Chinese territories to the Japanese on the defeat of the Germans in the First World War, pumped fresh impetus into this national search for identity.[16] It placed students and intellectuals at the forefront of political reform and as a result many with experience of education abroad began to advocate actively the ideal of transforming Chinese society by doing away with the old, and bringing in the 'new', i.e. foreign systems of organization and forms of knowledge. Such efforts to learn from the West were reinforced by an upsurge in economic activity with Western nations. New urban elites began to grow up in the coastal cities, prospering from the weakened economic situation in wartime Europe.[17] Chinese entrepreneurs, who traded largely in cotton, flour and oil, took advantage of the rise in value of the Chinese tael against the dollar and pound and began a vigorous and profitable

engagement with Western market forces. As Frank Dikötter has aptly put it, 'Native ideas were projected upon the West. The Chinese notion of "Western thought" was erected as a totem: it encapsulated all frustrated ideals, it incorporated visions of the future, it sanctioned decapitation of the imperial system and the disintegration of the Confucian world order'.[18] There was a general reaction against the past and a proclaimed need to enter the modern world by aligning themselves with the greatest global power at that time, the West.

This is very evident in the field of medicine. One of the first moves made by the Nationalist government on coming to power was to set up a Ministry of Health, which it did on l November 1928, largely with the aid of the Geneva-based, international organization, the League of Nations. A survey led by the League of Nations' Health Organization (1920-45) concluded that China was badly in need of a basic, nationwide health infrastructure, and by that it meant basic provisions of Western-style medicine.[19] There were already some prominent centres of Western medicine, mainly a product of Western philanthropy. The Rockefeller Foundation in particular was extremely active in China, and financially backed a number of key programmes during the early Republican era, most notably the Peking Union Medical College.[20] There was little dispute that the medium through which the new Ministry of Health was to function was entirely that of Western medicine.[21]

Chinese medicine, meanwhile, was effectively sidelined; it did not play a part in these central plans for medical development. In fact, it nearly did not have a place in Chinese society at all after the infamous move to 'outlaw' Chinese medicine by Dr Yu Yunxiu (1879-1954) of the Ministry of Health in 1929. Yu Yunxiu had his own plans for a 'medical revolution' (yixue geming), which involved the proliferation of Western scientific medicine and the curtailment of Chinese medicine.[22] Since the early 1920s he had been campaigning for the abolition of Chinese medicine which he saw as nothing short of a national embarrassment and public menace. Once he was accorded some political leverage with his appointment to the Ministry of Health, he promptly set about enforcing his convictions. His proposition for 'The Abolition of Old-Style Medicine in Order to Clear Away the Obstacles to Medicine and Public Health (feizhi jiuyu yu saochu yishi weisheng zhi zhangaian)' put forth on 25 February 1929[23] was met with complete outrage by the Chinese medical community and prompted a national demonstration held in Shanghai on 17 March 1929.[24] This display of protest won public and political support enough to have the ruling overturned and the interests of Chinese medicine gained a very powerful backer - the pharmaceutical industries.[25] Yet the victory was marked by perhaps a more significant phenomenon - for the first time the dispersed entity that was the profession of Chinese medicine in China had closed ranks and joined together in a common cause.

This is the moment that Sean Lei describes as 'Chinese medicine encountering the State' and he describes it as an epistemological as much as a material and political change.[26] It was the moment when Chinese medicine was forced to confront modernity. In his Ph.D. dissertation, Lei discusses in detail the processes of this confrontation and the resulting institutional and epistemological changes of the medicine. This very public clash of interests forced proponents of Chinese medicine to take on the language of the modern society that China was embracing and to fight Western medicine on its own terms. They formed societies, they set up schools, they wrote textbooks, they published journals, they practised in hospitals and specialist clinics,[27] all of which added prominence and extra credence to

their outdated image.[28] Attempts were even made to assimilate Western medical knowledge into Chinese medicine, creating a hybrid medicine dubbed 'neither mule nor horse' (feilü feima), or 'mongrel medicine' (zazhongyi), which appalled its Western medical opponents.[29] The idea was that protagonists of Chinese medicine should capitalize on the perceived trappings of professionalization peculiar to Western medicine.

Yet these efforts were all short-lived. The impetus was there, but not the organization. The political environment was too chaotic to allow these early initiatives to take root. After just ten years of rebuilding, there followed a further twelve years of war, first with Japan (1937-45) and then internally (1945-9). The Nationalist government fled West to Chongqing in 1937, as did large tracts of the population living in eastern, urban centres which were open to attack from the invading Japanese forces. Rising inflation and the general impermanence of day-to-day life were not conducive to furthering the National Medicine Movement (guoyi yundong).[30] These efforts had, in the main, been led by the individual and as such crumbled as the structures of Chinese society disintegrated once more. From 1937, Chinese medical schools were forced to shut and journals stopped circulating as practitioners concentrated on their immediate survival in war-time China.

The cause of Chinese medicine was taken up once more under the stability of the Communist regime. Much of what the Communists were to accomplish had actually already been conceptualized and put into practice, albeit in limited form, during Nationalist times. Thus the lines of development for the modernization of Chinese medicine were clear from the start. The Nationalist period made it clear that the fate of medicine was intimately linked, not so much with therapeutics, but with the political system that supported it. Thus, representation of Western medicine on the foreign-backed Ministry of Health ensured that Western medicine would be the favoured medical system. Chinese medicine could only develop as best its representatives, with minimal political clout, could manage. In the unstable, politically unfriendly environment of the Nationalist era, the ideals of promoters of Chinese medicine could not be achieved. Thus it was not until the steady, all-encompassing hand of the CCP came into play that the infrastructure and national support necessary for these modernizing changes could be put into action.

Aims of this book

The key point that I wish to make in this book is that the role that Chinese medicine played in the Communist Revolution was passive. It was a suppressed element of society, and its representatives could by no means dictate the fate of the medicine. Rather, its particular ideological framework, its large corpus of practitioners, and the practicalities of its implementation all contributed to making it attractive to the Communist cause.

Thus this book will show how at no stage in the development of Chinese medicine in PRC China did the medicine advance 'on its own', but rather was led at all times by state policies. The individual efforts of Chinese medical practitioners who had a livelihood to defend carried little weight in the community-oriented lifestyle of Communist China. This was now a situation where practitioners' reputations had to be built on more than just family tradition. The criteria for defending Chinese medicine which had applied in Nationalist China were no longer applicable in post-1949 China. The

lines along which it was to develop were unique to the circumstances of Communist China. By 1963, the institutionalization and standardization of Chinese medicine in CCP China were complete and it had begun to be admitted into the primary health care system. Events during the 1950s are crucial to understanding the present system of medicine that exists in mainland China.

The parameters of this study are very clearly defined. It is a history situated within the boundaries of mainland China. It is not an attempt at a comparative study, although the final chapter does take into account the influence that Chinese medicine had beyond China's borders. The locus of this study is primarily the capital Beijing, as the initial testing ground for government initiatives in Chinese medicine. Activities in other parts of China are also taken into account where possible, although they tended to be slightly later, secondary reactions to government policy. This is also not a history of public health; public health being the application of medicine on the most basic level, the prevention of disease. Although the use of Chinese medicine, and more importantly, the use of practitioners of Chinese medicine in public health activities are taken into account, this remains predominantly a story of medicine at the therapeutic level.

This is a history which has the luxury of having a primary aim of 'filling in the gaps'. These crucial years in the formation of TCM have hitherto been treated relatively lightly in terms of analysis, largely because they have until recently fallen into the grey area between anthropology and history. We must remember that the field of Chinese studies is relatively young, access to mainland China having been severely restricted for much of the twentieth century, right up until the 1980s. As a broad rule of thumb, historians to date have tended to focus on events before 1949, and anthropologists have tended to document events from the time that they first gained entry, i.e. from the mid-1980s. As a result, Western-language historical research on the 1950s is few and far between. General statements have been made by Unschuld (1985): 249-60 and Nathan Sivin, Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1987): 20-30, neither of which go into detail on the circumstances which have shaped modern-day medicine. As for anthropological studies, some important works on the state of contemporary medicine in China have been produced in the last decade. The most significant are Judith Farquhar, Knowing Practice: The Clinical [Encounter of Chinese Medicine (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), Elisabeth Hsu, The Transmission of Chinese Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Volker Scheid, Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). They all recognize that the CCP government has played a pivotal role in promoting Chinese medicine and that Chinese medicine has to function within the rigid framework of Communist state institutions and policies. However, with the exception of Scheid, who gives an excellent synopsis of existing English and Chinese-language historical research,[31] there is little historical grounding of their subject matter. This is the gap which this history is attempting to fill.

The best account we have today of the political and social situation that affected Chinese medicine during the 1950s was produced over twenty years ago and was in fact an account of recent events of the time. This is Ralph C. Croizier, Traditional Medicine in Modern China: Science, Nationalism and the Tensions of Cultural Change (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968). Croizier has written an excellent intellectual history which broaches the question of which cultural and national

factors led Chinese medicine to enjoy support from reformists normally loyal to modern science. His work is mainly set in the early Republican period when questions concerning Chinese medicine's standing next to Western medicine came to take up space in the great debates following the Self-Strengthening Movement on national improvement. In his analysis of Communist China, Croizier focuses to a large extent on the tensions between 'Red' and 'Expert', and concludes that Chinese medicine in Communist China gained favour precisely because of its pragmatic values. His analysis is constrained by the difficulties of access to CCP documentation which defined scholarship before the 1980s, meaning that he was often dependent on selected translations from Hong Kong media machines and interviews with political exiles in Taiwan. He was thus unable to gauge accurately subtle changes in Chinese medical policy that accompanied the upheaval of politics in early Communist China. Yet, despite these differences, Croizier's is a most perspicacious account of the non-scientific factors lending support for a medicine, and I have used his chronicling of events as a reference point throughout this book.

This work is primarily based on Chinese primary sources. Information on government policy towards Chinese medicine was obtained from those mouthpieces of the Central Committee - the People's Daily (Renmin Ribao), the Guangming Daily (Guangming Ribao) and the Health Bulletin (Jiankangbao). However, as I rapidly learned in the course of this research, only certain announcements were made public in this way, and these tended to be the final word on policy. The much more intriguing debates and discussions that led to the end result were not publicly announced. They were, rather, contained within numerous drafts and reports on the handling of Chinese medicine which were shuffled between local health departments and the Ministry of Health, and, perhaps more crucially, in substantial correspondence between the Ministry of Health and the Central Committee. Such reports have only recently become available to us, and I am in particular indebted to the volume edited by the People's Republic of China's Ministry of Health's Department of TCM (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo weishengbu zhongyisi) (ed.), Collection of Documents on Chinese Medical Work (restricted distribution) 1949-83 (Beijing: Zhonghua renmin gongheguo weishengbu zhongyisi, July 1985) (abbreviated in this book to CCMW). Journals on Chinese medicine, while scarce between the years 1945-55, became more common after 1956, and in particular I have referred to the main Beijing organ, the Journal of TCM (zhongyi zazhi).

I have also conducted a number of interviews with major participants in the reforms of the time. These interviews are invaluable in providing a personal touch in a history otherwise restricted to textual sources.

There exists a growing body of Chinese-language secondary literature which has gone into some detail on Chinese medical events in Communist China. The most detailed and comprehensive accounts are found in two large volumes published in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. These are Meng Qingyun, Fifty Years of the Development of China's Traditional Chinese Medicine and Pharmacology (1949-99) (Zhengzhou: Henan yike daxue chubanshe, 1999) and Wang Zhipu and Cai Jingfeng, Fifty Years of China's Traditional Chinese Medicine and Pharmacology (1949-99) (Fuzhou: Fujian kexue jishu chubanshe, 1999). There are also some useful histories of medical education such as Zhu Chao and Zhang Weifeng, A History of

Medical Education in New China (Beijing: Beijing yike daxue and Zhongguo xiehe yike daxue, 1990), and Liu Zhenmin and Cui Wenzhi, Practice and Exploration: Forty Years of Higher Level Education in Traditional Chinese Medicine and Pharmacology in China (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1998). A good, critical history can be found in Ma Boying, Gao Xi, and Hong Zhongli, The History of Intercultural Medicine Communication between China and Foreign Countries (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 1993). None, however, offer too penetrating an account into events pre-1956, i.e. before the founding of the first Academies of TCM, and as a rule portray the role that the CCP has played as entirely positive in nature. Statements such as, 'Since the new China was established in 1949, the Party and Government have expressly formulated a policy of supporting Chinese medicine. In addition, they have adopted a series of measures to protect and promote the development of TCM and Pharmacology. This is a basic premise of the guiding principles of our nation's polices on Chinese medical work',[32] abound.[33] I would like to suggest that while I am dependent on such works for their detailed facts, my analysis of the sequence of events departs significantly from the general Party line that the Communist Party has always backed Chinese medicine.

Structure of the book

In this book, I deal with Chinese medicine and TCM at the political level, at the level of the implementation of political decision, and at the level of the content and nature of the medicine itself. Government policy on Chinese medicine during this revolutionary period was heavily based on Mao Zedong's directives. Yet this posed a slight dilemma in that Mao himself did not have a clear idea of what to do with Chinese medicine, and his words on the topic, especially pre-1954, were extremely few and ambiguous. This meant that the responsibility for determining the meaning of Mao's words and planning the development of Chinese medicine fell onto others. In the less complex Party structure of pre-1949, the interpreters and implementers were the doctors themselves, but once the Central Committee's formal structure had been established in Beijing, this role was taken on by the Minister of Health. Accordingly, the precise content and nature of the medicine itself continued to change.

This book is divided into four chronologically ordered chapters which revolve around the central year of 1954 when Chinese medicine finally became an issue of national concern. The first chapter documents the early contact of the CCP with Chinese medicine during the period of the Civil War (1945-9) and shows how it was the doctors of Western medicine who promoted it. The second chapter (1949-54) looks at the events which led to Chinese medicine being assigned a place in Mao's revolutionary plan as Chinese medicine was used as an instrument to attack the ideologically suspect Ministry of Health. In 1954 Chinese medicine was recognized by Mao as a vital tool in the creation of a new medical system. The third chapter (1954-6) therefore discusses how the initial promotion of Chinese medicine in CCP China was intended for its 'union' with Western medicine as part of Mao's revolutionary plan, and how subsequent attempts to institutionalize Chinese medicine were not a part of this plan. The fourth chapter (1957-63) examines a more moderate stage in Chinese medical policy as Mao's attention shifted to the urgent demands of the Great Leap Forward, leaving other Party

leaders to interpret and determine the 'correct' handling of Chinese medicine. My account of this period describes the standardization of TCM, and in particular the editing of the first set of national TCM textbooks and the production of a comprehensive theory of the medicine. By 1963 the official format of TCM as a body of knowledge was determined and the medicine we know today in China, and to some extent also in the West, was established.

The whole process traced in this book corresponds to a sequence of changes in government slogans pertaining to Chinese medicine and its relation to Western medicine. It is somewhat paradoxical that one factor integral to the history of Chinese medicine in modern China has always been its relationship to Western medicine. While in many ways Chinese medicine has been accorded a separate identity, and separate space, in modern Chinese life, the tenets that govern it from above consistently refer to it as part of a duality. This is demonstrated below in the set of slogans that frame our current investigation.

1945-50	'The Co-operation of Chinese and Western Medicines'
1950-8	'The Unification of Chinese and Western Medicines'
1950-3	'Chinese Medicine studies Western Medicine'
1954-8	'Western Medicine studies Chinese Medicine'
1958 to present	'The Integration of Chinese and Western Medicines'

Therefore, as the role of Chinese medicine in the new Communist society was revised, so the words used in association with it changed, too. From a gentle 'cooperation' (hezuo) with Western medicine, to the radical 'unification' (tuanjie) with it, and then to the more conservative 'integration' (jiehe) of the two medicines, these terms make explicit the way in which Chinese medicine was moved from a marginally accepted sideline of the national health care system to an essential part of it.

Stylistic guidelines

I have chosen to be quite liberal with the inclusion of original Chinese text on which much of my work is based. This is because, despite a real effort to keep the translations as true to the original text as possible, the flavour of the language is invariably lost. I have therefore kept the Chinese wording of all keywords, translated quotes and names of institutions and articles. When included in the main text, such items appear in the first instance complete with romanization and Chinese characters. All subsequent mentionings will appear only in translated form. The Chinese text for the quotes are kept in the footnotes, except when they are considered of immediate relevance to the better understanding of the translation. Any Chinese characters in the footnotes are not accompanied by their romanization. This applies also to the titles of articles, journals and books in the bibliography.

Kim Taylor's Footnotes (pp. 164-167)

1. Early histories of the CCP can be found in Selden, Mark, China in Revolution: The Yenan War Revisited (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), Johnson, Chalmers A., Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), Fairbank,

John K. (ed.), The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12: Republican China, 1912-49, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Fairbank, John K. and Feuerwerker, Albert (eds), The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13: Republican China, 1912-49, Part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
2. For an excellent description of the evolution of Mao's thought, and the political circumstances that accompanied it, see Schram, Stuart R., The Thought of Mao Tse-tung (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
3. Meisner, Maurice, Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic (New York: The Free Press, 1986): 31-51.
4. An elaboration is given in Bottomore, Tom (ed.), A Dictionary of Marxist Thought (Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1991): 476-81. For a broad discussion of the historiography of revolutions, see Hobsbawm, E.J., 'Revolution' in Porter, Roy and Teich, Mikulas (eds), Revolution in History (Cambndge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 5-46.
5. Skocpol, Theda, 'France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions', Comparative Studies in Society and History 18 (2 1976): 180-1.
6. Ibid., 181.
7. For a discussion of Mao's anti-foreignism, see Liao Kuang-sheng, Anti-foreignism and Modernization in China, 1860-1980. Linkage between Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974).
8. Details of Mao the man can be found in Rice, Edward E., Mao's Way (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), Pye, Lucian, Mao Tse-tung: The Man in the Leader (New York: Basic Books, 1976), Li Zhisui, The Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994) and Short, Philip, Mao A Life (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999).
9. For the transformation in medicine in Western societies during the nineteenth century, see Cunningham, Andrew and Williams, Perry (eds), The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and Bynum, W.F., Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
10. Cunningham, Andrew and Andrews, Bridie Jane (eds), Western Medicine as Contested Knowledge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997): 15.
11. Unschuld, Paul Ulrich, Medicine in China: A History of Ideas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 11.
12. The inherently pluralistic nature of contemporary Chinese medicine has been the subject of a comprehensive study by Volker Scheid in his volume Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).
13. References for this period include, Sarao, K.T.S., The Chinese Revolution of 1911: Its Causes and Origins (Dehli: Eastern Book Linkers, 1985) and Lü Bowei, The Revolution of 1911: Turning Point in Modern Chinese History (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991).

14. More details in Cameron, Meribeth E., The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1931) and Hsü, Immanuel C.Y., The Rise of Modern China (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 408-18.
15. For the moral dilemmas of Republican China, see Karl, Rebecca E., Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002) and Leuntner, Mechthild and Felber, Roland (eds), The Chinese Revolution in the 1920s: Between Triumph and Disaster (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002).
16. For more details, see Schwarcz, Vera, The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) and Chow Tse-tung, The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).
17. Described nicely in Bergere, Marie-Claire (translated by Janet Lloyd), The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911-37 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. pp. 64 70.
18. Dikötter, Frank, The Discourse of Race in Modern China (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1994): 128.
19. Lucas, AnElissa, Chinese Medical Modernization: Comparative Policy Continuities, 1930s-1980s (New York: Praeger Publications, 1982): 60-1.
20. See Bowers, John Z., Medicine and Society in China (New York: Josiah Macy Foundation, 1972) and Bullock, Mary B., An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and the Peking Union Medical College (Berkeley: University of California, 1980). For a personal account of medical initiatives in Republican China, see Chen, C.C., Medicine in Rural China: A Personal Account (Berkeley: University of California, 1989).
21. This is perhaps illustrated most poignantly in the reclaiming of the Quarantine Services which had until then been under British control; a hugely symbolic move which demonstrated the Nationalist government's preparedness to articulate their competence and efficiency as a modern Chinese state in the language in which the Western world functioned, i.e. that of modern science. See in particular Yip Ka-che, Health and National Reconstruction in Nationalist China: The Development of Modern Health Services, 1928-1937 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1995): 115-19.
22. Ruminations from Yu Yunxiu on this topic include, 'The Strategy for Future Medical Revolution', Collected Essays on Medical Matters (10 1931): 33-4 and 'Medical Revolution: the Past Work, Present Situation and Future Strategy’, Chinese Medical Journal (20 1933): 11-23.
23. Details given in Lei, Sean Hsiang-Lin, 'When Chinese medicine encountered the State, 1910- 49', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999, pp. 80-90, Andrews, Bridie Jane, 'The making of modern Chinese medicine, 1895-1937', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1996, pp. 166-9 and Deng Tietao, The Recent History of Chinese Medicine rPt~ft~ (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999): 280-90.
24. For the role played in its organization, see Chen Cunren, A History of Life in the Period [when we used] Silver Dollars (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2000): 111-40. He describes how he (1908-90) and fellow practitioner Zhang Zanchen (1904-93) met in a Shanghai pastry shop, Five Fragrance Foods, that evening and plotted how they could organize a demonstration of national representation. In Chen Cunren (2000): 113-14. For details of the reaction in the wider Shanghai

Chinese medical community, see Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Pharmacology [Shanghai zhongyiyao daxue] and Shanghai City Collection of Chinese Medical Documents [Shanghaishi zhongyi wenxian guan], Cradle of Famous Physicians: A History of the Shanghai Academy of TCM (Shanghai Technical School of Chinese Medicine) (Shanghai: Shanghai zhongyiyao daxue chubanshe, 1998): 51 4.
25. Lei (1999): 95-6.
26. Ibid., 3-5.
27. For different regional accounts of such activities, see Shanghai zhongyiyao daxue (1998) and TCM Section of the Beijing City Academy for Health Workers [Beijingshi weisheng zhigong xueyuan zhongyibu (ed.), 'Research into the History of Higher Level Chinese Medical Education in the Beijing Region During the Nationalist Period - an Appraisal of the North China National Medical Academy', Journal of China's Medical History, 16 (4 1986): 199-201.
28. Efforts to update the practice of Chinese medicine had been ongoing since early Republican times, although without so much at stake. Lei has pointed out a clear rise in such activities with the number of schools established between 1928-37 being more than triple those established before 1928, in Lei (1999): 198. Further details of Chinese medical initiatives under the Nationalist Party, especially in efforts of publication, are given in Andrews (1996): 193-205.
29. Lei has described their mainly hostile reaction, in Lei (1999): 195-8. Interestingly, the idea of a hybrid unable to reproduce itself should have been most appealing to its enemies. See for example the article, Yi Jingdai, 'The Problem with Chinese Medicine is that it is Neither Mule nor Horse', Medical Review (63 1931): 3-4. Yu Yunxiu was one of the editors of Medical Review.
30. This is the formal name of the movement to defend Chinese medicine. Lei describes the emergence of this movement as a direct result of the Chinese medical practitioners' clash with the State in Lei (1999): 91-103. See also Croizier (1968): 89-99.
31. Scheid (2002): 67-88.
32. 1949 XX, Wang Zhipu (1999): 5.
33. Other examples of such statements are: 'In the last fifty years, under the gracious granting of a series of wise policies by the Party and Government, the enterprise of Chinese medicine has continued to flourish', Meng Qingyun (1999): 14, and 'Over more than forty years, our nation's higher-level education in TCM and pharmacology has gone from nothing to something, from small to big and does not stop developing. In the process, the concern of the Party and government and the direction of state policies, have all had an extremely important role in promoting the development of higher-level TCM and pharmacology education. It can be said that without this type of concern and direction, it would be very difficult for higher-level TCM and pharmacology education to achieve the flourishing situation [it enjoys] today', Liu Zhenmin (1998): 1.